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Frontispiece.

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COLUMBUS

describing the Countries he had discovered.

The WORLD DISPLAYED;

OR, A

Curious Collection

OF

Voyages AND Travels,

Selected and compiled from the

WRITERS of all NATIONS;

BY

Smart, Goldsmith, & Johnson.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION,

Corrected & Enlarged,

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL I.

Philadelphia.

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W. Harrison sen.r sculp.t

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INTRODUCTION.

NAVIGATION, like other arts, has been perfected by degrees. It is not eaſy to conceive that any age or nation was without ſome veſſel, in which rivers might be paſſed by travellers, or lakes frequented by fiſhermen; but we have no knowledge of any ſhip that could endure the violence of the ocean before the ark of Noah.

As the tradition of the deluge has been tranſmitted to almoſt all the nations of the earth; it muſt be ſuppoſed that the memory of the means by which Noah and his family were preſerved would be continued long among their deſcendants, and that the poſſibility of paſſing the ſeas could never be doubted.

What men know to be practicable, a thouſand motives will incite them to try; and there is reaſon to believe, that from the time that the generations of the poſt-deluvian race ſpread to the ſea ſhores, there were always navigators that ventured upon the ocean, though, perhaps, not willingly beyond the ſight of land.

Of the ancient voyages little certain is known, and it is not neceſſary to lay before the reader ſuch conjectures as learned men have offered to the world. The Romans by conquering Carthage, put a ſtop to great part of the trade of diſtant nations with one another, and becauſe they thought only on war and conqueſt, as their empire encreaſed, commerce was diſcouraged; till under the later emperors, ſhips ſeem to have been of little other uſe than to tranſport ſoldiers.

Navigation could not be carried to any great degree of certainty without the compaſs, which was unknown to the ancients. The wonderful quality by which a needle, or ſmall bar of ſteel, touched with a loadſtone or magnet, and turning freely by equilibration on a point, always preſerves the meridian, and directs its two ends north and ſouth, was diſcovered, according to the common opinion, in 1299, by John Goia, of Amalphi, a town in Italy.

From this time it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that navigation made continual, though ſlow improvements, which the confuſion and barbarity of the times, and the want of communication between orders of men ſo diſtant as ſailors and monks, hindered from being diſtinctly and ſucceſſively recorded.

It ſeems, however, that the ſailors ſtill wanted either knowledge or courage, for they continued for two centuries to creep along the coaſt, and conſidered every headland as unpaſſable, which ran far into the ſea, and againſt which the waves broke with uncommon agitation.

The firſt who is known to have formed the deſign of new diſcoveries, or the firſt who had power to execute his purpoſes, was Don Henry, the eldeſt ſon of John the firſt king of Portugal, and Philippina, ſiſter of Henry the fourth of England. Don Henry having attended his father to the conqueſt of Ceuta, obtained, by converſation with the inhabitants of the continent, ſome accounts of the interior kingdoms and ſouthern coaſts of Africa; which, though rude and indiſtinct, were ſufficient to raiſe his curioſity, and convince him that there were countries yet unknown and worthy of diſcovery.

He therefore equipped ſome ſmall veſſels, and commanded that they ſhould paſs as far as they

could along that coaſt of Africa which looked upon the great Atlantic ocean, the immenſity of which ſtruck the groſs and unſkilful navigators of thoſe times with terror and amazement. He was not able to communicate his own ardour to his ſeamen, who proceeded very ſlowly in the new attempt; each was afraid to venture much farther than he that went before him, and ten years were ſpent before they had advanced beyond cape Bajador, ſo called from its progreſſion into the ocean, and the circuit by which it muſt be doubled. The oppoſition of this promontory to the courſe of the ſea, produced a violent current and high waves, into which they durſt not venture, and which they had not yet knowledge enough to avoid by ſtanding off from the land into the open ſea.

The prince was deſirous to know ſomething of the countries that lay beyond this formidable cape, and ſent two commanders, named John Gonzales Zarco, and Triſtan Vaz, in 1418, to paſs beyond Bajador, and ſurvey the coaſt behind it. They were caught by a tempeſt, which drove them out into the unknown ocean, where they expected to periſh by the violence of the wind, or perhaps to wander for ever in the boundleſs deep. At laſt, in the midſt of their deſpair, they found a ſmall iſland, where they ſheltered themſelves, and which the ſenſe of their deliverance diſpoſed them to call Puerto Santo, or the Holy Haven.

When they returned with an account of this new iſland, Henry performed a public act of thankſgiving, and ſent them again with ſeeds and cattle; and we are told by the Spaniſh hiſtorian, that they ſet two rabits on ſhore, which increaſed ſo much in a few years, that they drove away the inhabitants, by deſtroying their corn and potatoes, and were ſuffered to enjoy the iſland without oppoſition.

In the ſecond or third voyage to Puerto Santo, (for authors do not agree which) a third captain, called Perello, was joined to the former. As they looked round the iſland upon the ocean, they ſaw at a diſtance ſomething which they took for a cloud, till they perceived that it did not change its place. They directed their courſe towards it, and, in 1419, diſcovered another iſland covered with trees, which they therefore called Madera, or the Iſle of Wood.

Madera was given to Vaz or Zarco, who ſet fire to the woods, which are reported by Souza to have burnt for ſeven years together, and to have waſted, till want of wood was the greateſt inconveniency of the place. But green wood is not very apt to burn, and the heavy rains which fall in theſe countries muſt ſurely have extinguiſhed the conflagration, were it ever ſo violent.

There was yet little progreſs made upon the ſouthern coaſt, and Henry's project was treated as chimerical by many of his countrymen. At laſt Gilianes, in 1433, paſſed the dreadful cape, to which he gave the name of Bajador, and came back to the wonder of the nation.

In two voyages more made in the two following years, they paſſed forty-two leagues farther, and in the latter, two men with horſes being ſet on ſhore, wandered over the country, and found nineteen men, whom, according to the ſavage manners of that age, they attacked; the natives having javelins, wounded one of the Portugueſe, and received ſome wounds from them. At the mouth of a river they found ſea-wolves in great numbers, and brought home many of their ſkins, which were much eſteemed.

Antonio Gonzales, who had been one of the aſſociates of Gilianes, was ſent again, in 1440, to bring back a cargo of the ſkins of ſea wolves.—He was followed in another ſhip by Nunno Triſ-

tam. They were now of ſtrength ſufficient to venture upon violence, they therefore landed, and without either right or provocation, made all whom they ſeized their priſoners, and brought them to Portugal, with great commendations both from the Prince and the nation.

Henry now began to pleaſe himſelf with the ſucceſs of his projects, and as one of his purpoſes was the converſion of infidels, he thought it neceſſary to impart his undertaking to the Pope, and to obtain the ſanction of eccleſiaſtical authority.—To this end Fernando Lopez d'Azevedo was diſpatched to Rome, who related to the Pope and Cardinals the great deſigns of Henry, and magnified his zeal for the propagation of religion. The Pope was pleaſed with the narrative, and by a formal Bull conferred upon the crown of Portugal all the countries which ſhould be diſcovered as far as India, together with India itſelf, and granted ſeveral privileges and indulgencies to the churches which Henry had built in his new regions, and to the men engaged in the navigation for diſcovery. By this Bull all other Princes were forbidden to encroach upon the conqueſts of the Portugueſe, on pain of the cenſures incurred by the crime of uſurpation.

The approbation of the Pope, the ſight of men whoſe manners and appearance were ſo different from thoſe of Europeans, and the hope of gain from golden regions, which has been always the great incentive to hazard and diſcovery, now began to operate with full force. The deſire of riches, and of dominion, which is yet more pleaſing to the fancy, filled the courts of the Portugueſe prince with innumerable adventurers from very diſtant parts of Europe. Some wanted to be employed in the ſearch after new countries, and ſome to be ſettled in thoſe which had been already found.

Communities now began to be animated by the the ſpirit of enterprize, and many aſſociations were formed for the equipment of ſhips, and the acquiſition of the riches of diſtant regions, which perhaps were always ſuppoſed to be more wealthy, as more remote. Theſe undertakers agreed to pay the prince a fifth part of the profit, ſometimes a greater ſhare, and ſent out the armament at their own expence.

The city of Lagos was the firſt that carried on this deſign by contribution. The inhabitants fitted out ſix veſſels, under the command of Lucarot, one of the prince's houſehold, and ſoon after fourteen more were furniſhed for the ſame purpoſe, under the ſame commander; to thoſe were added many belonging to private perſons, ſo that in a ſhort time twenty-ſix ſhips put to ſea in queſt of whatever fortune ſhould preſent.

The ſhips of Lagos were ſoon ſeparated by foul weather, and the reſt, taking each its own courſe, ſtopped at different parts of the African coaſt, from Cape Blanco to Cape Verd. Some of them, in 1444, anchored at Gomera, one of the Canaries, where they were kindly treated by the inhabitants, who took them into their ſervice againſt the people of the iſle of Palma, with whom they were at war; but the Portugueſe at their return to Gomera, not being made ſo rich as they expected, fell upon their friends, in contempt of all the laws of hoſpitality and ſtipulations of alliance, and, making ſeveral of them priſoners and ſlaves, ſet ſail for Liſbon.

The Canaries are ſuppoſed to have been known, however imperfectly, to the ancients; but in the confuſion of the ſubſequent ages they were loſt and forgotten, until about the year 1340, the Biſcayners found Lucarot, and invading it, (for to find a new country and invade it has always been the

fame,) brought away ſeventy captives and ſome commodities of the place. Louis de la Cerda, count of Clermont, of the blood royal both of France and Spain, nephew of John de la Cerda, who called himſelf the Prince of Fortune, had once a mind to ſettle in thoſe iſlands, and applying himſelf firſt to the King of Arragon, and then to Clement VI. was by the Pope crowned at Avignon, King of the Canaries, on condition that he ſhould reduce them to the true religion; but the Prince altered his mind, and went into France to ſerve againſt the Engliſh. The Kings both of Caſtile and Portugal, though they did not oppoſe the papal grant, yet complained of it, as made without their knowledge, and in contravention of their rights.

The firſt ſettlement in the Canaries was made by John de Betancour, a French gentleman, for whom his kinſman Robin de Braquement, admiral of France, begged them, with the title of king, from Henry the Magnificent of Caſtile, to whom he had done eminent ſervices. John made himſelf maſter of ſome of the iſles, but could never conquer the Grand Canary; and having ſpent all that he had, went back to Europe, leaving his nephew, Maſſiot de Bentancour, to take care of his new dominion. Maſſiot had a quarrel with the vicar-general, and was likewiſe diſguſted by the long abſence of his uncle, whom the French king detained in his ſervice, and being able to keep his ground no longer, he transferred his rights to Don Henry, in exchange for ſome diſtricts in the Maderas, where he ſettled his family.

Don Henry, when he had purchaſed thoſe iſlands, ſent thither in 1424 two thouſand five hundred foot and an hundred and twenty horſes; but the army was too numerous to be maintained by the country. The king of Caſtile afterwards

claimed them, as conquered by his ſubjects under Betancour, and held under the crown of Caſtile by fealty and homage; his claim was allowed, and the Canaries were reſigned.

It was the conſtant practice of Henry's navigators, when they ſtopped at a deſert iſland, to land cattle upon it, and leave them to breed, where neither wanting room nor food, they multiplied very faſt, and furniſhed a very commodious ſupply to thoſe who came afterwards to the ſame place. This was imitated in ſome degree by Anſon, at the iſle of Juan Fernandez.

The iſlands of Madera, he not only filled with inhabitants, aſſiſted by artificers of every kind, but procured ſuch plants as ſeemed likely to flouriſh in that climate, and introduced ſugar canes and vines, which afterwards produced a very large revenue.

The trade of Africa now began to be profitable, but a great part of the gain aroſe from the ſale of ſlaves, who were annually brought into Portugal, by hundreds, as Lafitau relates, and without any appearance of indignation or compaſſion; they likewiſe imported gold duſt in ſuch quantities, that Alphonſus V. coined it into a new ſpecies of money called Cruſades, which is ſtill continued in Portugal.

In time they made their way along the ſouth coaſt of Africa, eaſtward to the country of the Negroes, whom they found living in tents, without any political inſtitutions, ſupporting life with very little labour by the milk of their kine, and millet, to which thoſe who inhabited the coaſt added fiſh dried in the ſun. Having never ſeen the natives or heard of the arts of Europe, they gazed with aſtoniſhment on the ſhips when they approached their coaſts, ſometimes thinking them birds and ſometimes fiſhes, according as their ſails were

ſpread or lowered; and ſometimes conceiving them to be only phantoms, which played to and fro in the ocean. Such is the account given by the hiſtorian, perhaps with too much prejudice to a Negroe's underſtanding; who, though he might well wonder at the bulk and ſwiftneſs of the firſt ſhip, would ſcarcely conceive it to be either a bird or a fiſh; but having ſeen many bodies floating in the water, would think it, what it really is, a large boat; and if he had no knowledge of any means by which ſeparate pieces of timber may be joined together, would form very wild notions concerning its conſtruction, or perhaps ſuppoſe it to be a hollow trunk of a tree, from ſome country where trees grow to a much greater height and thickneſs than in his own.

When the Portugueſe came to land, they encreaſed the aſtoniſhment of the poor inhabitants, who ſaw men clad in iron, with thunder and lightning in their hands. They did not underſtand each other, and ſigns are a very imperfect mode of communication even to men of more knowledge than the Negroes, ſo that they could not eaſily negociate or traffick; at laſt the Portugueſe laid hands on ſome of them to carry them home for a ſample; and their dread and amazement were raiſed, ſays Lafitau, to the higheſt pitch, when the Europeans fired their cannon and muſkets among them, and they ſaw their companions fall dead at their feet without any enemy at hand, or any viſible cauſe of their deſtruction.

On what occaſion, or for what purpoſe, cannon and muſkets were diſcharged among a people harmleſs and ſecure, by ſtrangers who without any right viſited their coaſt, it is not thought neceſſary to inform us. The Portugueſe could fear nothing from them, and had therefore no adequate provocation; nor is there any reaſon to believe but that

they murdered the Negroes in wanton merriment, perhaps only to try how many a volley would deſtroy, or what would be the conſternation of thoſe that ſhould eſcape. We are openly told that they had the leſs ſcruple concerning the treatment of the ſavage people, becauſe they ſcarcely conſidered them as diſtinct from beaſts; and indeed the practice of all the European nations, and among others, of the Engliſh barbarians that cultivate the ſouthern iſlands of America, proves that this opinion, however abſurd and fooliſh, however wicked and injurious, ſtill continues to prevail. Intereſt and pride harden the heart, and it is in vain to diſpute againſt avarice and power.

By theſe practices the firſt diſcoverers alienated the natives from them, and whenever a ſhip appeared, every one that could fly betook himſelf to the mountains and the woods, ſo that nothing was to be got more than they could ſteal; they ſometimes ſurpriſed a few fiſhers and made them ſlaves, and did what they could to offend the Negroes and enrich themſelves. This practice of robbery continued till ſome of the Negroes who had been enſlaved learned the language of Portugal, ſo as to be able to interpret for their countrymen, and one John Fernandez applied himſelf to the Negroe tongue.

From this time began ſomething like a regular traffick, ſuch as can ſubſiſt between nations where all the power is on one ſide; and a factory was ſettled in the iſle of Arguin, under the protection of a fort. The profit of this new trade was aſſigned for a certain term to Ferdinando Gomez, which ſeems to be the common method of eſtabliſhing a trade that is yet too ſmall to engage the care of a nation, and can only be enlarged by that attention which is beſtowed by private men upon private advantage. Gomez continued the diſcoveries to

Cape Catherine, two degrees and a half beyond the line.

In the latter part of the reign of Alphonſo V. the ardour of diſcovery was ſomewhat intermitted and all commercial enterprizes were interrupted by the wars, in which he was engaged with various ſucceſs. But John II. who ſucceeded, being fully convinced both of the honour and advantage of extending his dominions in countries hitherto unknown, proſecuted the deſigns of Prince Henry with the utmoſt vigour, and in a ſhort time added to his other titles, that of king of Guinea and of the coaſt of Africa.

In 1463, in the third year of the reign of John II. died Prince Henry, the firſt encourager of remote navigation, by whoſe incitement, patronage, and example, diſtant nations have been made acquainted with each other, unknown countries have been brought into general view, and the power of Europe has been extended to the remoteſt parts of the world.

What mankind has loſt and gained by the genius and deſigns of this Prince, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to eſtimate.—Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty been committed, the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageouſly and enormouſly violated. The Europeans have ſcarcely viſited any coaſt, but to gratify avarice, and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practiſe cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppreſſed, if the deſigns of Henry had ſlept in his boſom, and ſurely more happy for the oppreſſors. But there is reaſon to hope that out of ſo much evil, good may ſometimes be produced, and that the light of the goſpel will at laſt illuminate the ſands of Africa, and the deſerts of America,

though its progreſs cannot but be ſlow, when it is ſo much obſtructed by the lives of Chriſtians.

The death of Henry did not interrupt the progreſs of king John, who was very ſtrict in his injunctions, not only to make diſcoveries but to ſecure poſſeſſion of the countries that were found. The practice of the firſt navigators was only to raiſe a croſs upon the coaſt, and to carve upon trees the device of Don Henry, the name which they thought it proper to give to the new coaſt, and any other information for thoſe that might happen to follow them; but now they began to erect piles of ſtone, with a croſs on the top, and engraved on the ſtone, the arms of Portugal, the name of the king, and of the commander of the ſhip with the day and year of the diſcovery. This was accounted ſufficient to prove their claim to the new lands, which might be pleaded with juſtice enough againſt any other Europeans, and the rights of the original inhabitants were never taken into notice. Of theſe ſtone records, nine more were erected in the reign of king John, along the coaſt of Africa as far as the Cape of Good Hope.

The fortreſs in the iſle of Arguin was finiſhed, and it was found neceſſary to build another at S. Georgio de la Mina, a few degrees north of the line, to ſecure the trade of gold duſt, which was chiefly carried on at that place. For this purpoſe a fleet was fitted out of ten large and three ſmaller veſſels, freighted with materials for building the fort, and with proviſions and ammunition for ſix hundred men, of whom one hundred were workmen and labourers. Father Lafitau relates in very particular terms, that theſe ſhips carried hewn ſtones, bricks, and timber for the fort, ſo that nothing remained but barely to erect it. He does not ſeem to conſider how ſmall a fort could be made out of the lading of ten ſhips.

The command of this fleet was given to Don Diego d' Azambue, who ſet ſail Dec. 11, 1481, and reaching La Mina, Jan. 19, 1482, gave immediate notice of his arrival to Caramanſo, a petty Prince of that part of the country, whom he very earneſtly invited to an immediate conference.

Having received a meſſage of civility from the Negroe Chief, he landed and choſe a riſing ground proper for his intended fortreſs, on which he planted a banner with the arms of Portugal, and took poſſeſſion in the name of his maſter. He then raiſed an altar at the foot of a great tree, on which Maſs was celebrated; the whole aſſembly, ſays Lafitau, breaking out into tears of devotion at the proſpect of inviting theſe barbarous nations to the profeſſion of the true faith. Being ſecure of the goodneſs of the end, they had no ſcruple about the means, nor even conſidered how differently from the primitive martyrs and apoſtles, they were attempting to make proſelytes. The firſt propagators of Chriſtianity recommended their doctrines by their ſufferings and virtues; they entered no defenceleſs territories with ſwords in their hands; they built no forts upon ground to which they had no right, nor polluted the purity of religion with the avarice of trade or inſolence of power.

What may ſtill raiſe higher the indignation of a Chriſtian mind, this purpoſe of propagating truth appears never to have been ſeriouſly purſued by any European nation; no means, whether lawful or unlawful, have been practiſed with diligence and perſeverance for the converſion of ſavages. When a fort is built and a factory eſtabliſhed, there remains no other care than to grow rich. It is ſoon found that ignorance is moſt eaſily kept in ſubjection, and that by enlightning the mind by truth, fraud and uſurpation would be made leſs practicable and leſs ſecure.

In a few days an interview was appointed between Caramanſa and Azambue. The Portuguſe uttered by his interpreter a pompous ſpeech, in which he made the Negro prince large offers of his maſter's friendſhip, exhorted him to embrace the religion of his new ally, and told him that as they came to form a league of friendſhip with him, it was neceſſary that they ſhould build a fort which might ſerve as a retreat from their common enemies, and in which the Portugueſe might be always at hand to lend him aſſiſtance.

The Negro, who ſeemed very well to underſtand what the admiral intended, after a ſhort pauſe, returned an anſwer full of reſpect to the king of Portugal, but appeared a little doubtful what to determine with relation to the fort. The commander ſaw his diffidence, and uſed all his art of perſuaſion to overcome it. Caramanſa, either induced by hope, or conſtrained by fear, either deſirous to make them friends, or not daring to make them enemies, conſented with a ſhew of joy to that which it was not in his power to refuſe, and the new comers began the next day to break ground for the foundation of a fort.

Within the limit of their intended fortification, were ſome ſpots appropriated to ſuperſtitious practices, which the Negroes no ſooner perceived in danger of violation by the ſpade and pix-ax, than they ran to arms and began to interrupt the work. The Portugueſe perſiſted in their purpoſe, and there had ſoon been tumult and bloodſhed, had not the admiral, who was at a diſtance to ſuperintend the unlading the materials for the edifice, been informed of the danger. He was told at the ſame time that the ſupport of their ſuperſtition was only a pretence, and that all their rage might be appeaſed by the preſents which the prince expected, the delay of which had greatly offended him.

The Portugueſe Admiral immediately ran to his men, prohibited all violence, and ſtopped the commotion; he then brought out the preſents, and ſpread them wiith great pomp before the prince; if they were of no great value they were rare, for the Negroes had never ſeen ſuch wonders before, they were therefore received with ecſtaſy, and perhaps the Portugueſe derided them for their fondneſs of trifles, without conſidering how many things derive their value only from ſcarcity, and that gold and rubies would be trifles, if nature had ſcattered them with leſs frugality.

The work was now peaceably continued, and ſuch was the diligence with which the ſtrangers haſtened to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the country, that in twenty days they had ſufficiently fortified themſelves againſt the hoſtility of the Negroes. They then proceeded to complete their deſign. A church was built in the place where the firſt altar had been raiſed, on which a maſs was eſtabliſhed to be celebrated for ever once a day for the repoſe of the ſoul of Henry, the firſt mover of theſe diſcoveries.

In this fort the Admiral remained with ſixty ſoldiers, and ſent back the reſt in the ſhips, with gold, ſlaves, and other commodities. It may be obſerved that ſlaves were never forgotten, and that wherever they went, they gratified their pride if not their avarice, and brought ſome of the natives, when it happened that they brought nothing elſe.

The Portugueſe endeavoured to extend their dominions ſtill farther. They had gained ſome knowledge of the Jaloffs, a nation inhabiting the coaſt of Guinea, between the Gambia and Senegal. The King of the Jaloffs being vicious and luxurious, committed the care of the government to Bemoin his brother by the mother's ſide, in pre-

ference to two other brothers by his father. Bemoin, who wanted neither bravery nor prudence, knew that his ſtation was invidious and dangerous, and therefore made an alliance with the Portugueſe, and retained them in his defence by liberality and kindneſs. At laſt the King was killed by the contrivance of his brothers, and Bemoin was to loſe his power or maintain it by war.

He had recourſe in this exigence to his great ally the King of Portugal, who promiſed to ſupport him on condition that he ſhould become a Chriſtian, and ſent an ambaſſador accompanied with miſſionaries. Bemoin promiſed all that was required, objecting only that the time of a civil war was not a proper ſeaſon for a change of religion which would alienate his adherents, but ſaid, that when he was once peaceably eſtabliſhed, he would not only embrace the true religion himſelf, but would endeavour the converſion of the kingdom.

This excuſe was admitted, and Bemoin delayed his converſion for a year, renewing his promiſe from time to time. But the war was unſucceſsful, trade was at a ſtand, and Bemoin was not able to pay the money which he had borrowed of the Portugueſe merchants, who ſent intelligence to Liſbon of his delays, and received an order from the King, commanding them under ſevere penalties to return home.

Bemoin here ſaw his ruin approaching, and hoping that money would pacify all reſentment, borrowed of his friends a ſum ſufficient to diſcharge his debts, and finding that even this enticement would not delay the departure of the Portugueſe, he embarked his nephew in their ſhips with a hundred ſlaves, whom he preſented to the King of Portugal, to ſolicit his aſſiſtance. The effect of this embaſſy he could not ſtay to know, for being ſoon after depoſed, he ſought ſhelter in the fortreſs

of Arguin, whence he took ſhipping for Portugal with twenty-five of his principal followers.

The King of Portugal pleaſed his own vanity and that of his ſubjects, by receiving him with great ſtate and magnificence, as a mighty monarch who had fled to an ally for ſuccour in misfortune. All the lords and ladies of the court were aſſembled, and Bemoin was conducted with a ſplendid attendance into the hall of audience, where the King roſe from his throne to welcome him. Bemoin then made a ſpeech with great eaſe and dignity, repreſenting his unhappy ſtate, and imploring the favour of his powerful ally. The King was touched with his affliction and ſtruck by his wiſdom.

The converſion of Bemoin was much deſired by the King, and it was therefore immediately propoſed to him that he ſhould become a chriſtian. Eccleſiaſtics were ſent to inſtruct him, and having now no more obſtacles from intereſt, he was eaſily perſuaded to declare himſelf whatever would pleaſe thoſe on whom he now depended. He was baptized December 3, 1489, in the palace of the Queen with great magnificence, and named John after the King.

Some time was ſpent in feaſts and ſports on this great occaſion, and the Negroes ſignalized themſelves by many feats of agility, far ſurpaſſing the power of Europeans, who having more helps of art, are leſs diligent to cultivate the qualities of nature. In the mean time twenty large ſhips were fitted out, well manned, ſtored with ammunition, and laden with materials neceſſary for the erection of a fort. With this powerful armament were ſent a great number of miſſionaries under the direction of Alvarez the King's confeſſor. The command of this force, which filled the coaſt of Africa with terror, was given to Pedro Vaz d' Acugna ſurnam-

ed Biſagu; who ſoon after they had landed, not being well pleaſed with his expedition, put an end to its inconvenience by ſtabbing Bemoin ſuddenly to the heart. The King heard of this outrage with great ſorrow, but did not attempt to puniſh the murderer.

The King's concern for the reſtoration of Bemoin was not the mere effect of kindneſs, he hoped by his help to facilitate greater deſigns. He now began to form hopes of finding a way to the Eaſt-Indies, and of enriching his country by that gainful commerce: This he was encouraged to believe practicable, by a map which the Moors had given to Prince Henry, and which ſubſequent diſcoveries have ſhewn to be ſufficiently near to exactneſs, where a paſſage round the ſouth part of Africa was evidently deſcribed.

The King had another ſcheme yet more likely to engage curioſity, and not irreconcileable with his intereſt. The world had for ſome time been filled with the report of a powerful chriſtian Prince called Preſter John, whoſe country was unknown, and whom ſome, after Paulus Venetus, ſuppoſed to reign in the midſt of Aſia, and others in the depth of Ethiopia, between the ocean and Red-ſea. The account of the African Chriſtians was confirmed by ſome Abyſſinians who had travelled into Spain, and by ſome Friars who had viſited the holy land; and the King was extremely deſirous of their correſpondence and alliance,

Some obſcure intelligence had been obtained, which made it ſeem probable that a way might be found from the countries lately diſcovered to thoſe of this far-famed monarch. In 1486, an ambaſſador came from the King of Bemin, to deſire that preachers might be ſent to inſtruct him and his ſubjects in the true religion. He related that in the inland country, 350 leagues eaſtward from

Bemin, was a mighty monarch called Ogane, who had juriſdiction both ſpiritual and temporal over other Kings; that the King of Bemin and his neighbours, at their acceſſion, ſent ambaſſadors to him with rich preſents, and received from him the inveſtiture of their dominions, and the marks of ſovereignty, which were a kind of ſceptre, a helmet, and a latten croſs, without which they could not be conſidered as lawful Kings; that this great Prince was never ſeen, but on the day of audience, and then held out one of his feet to the ambaſſador, who kiſſed it with great reverence, and who at his departure had a croſs of latten hung on his neck, which ennobled him thence forward, and exempted him from all ſervile offices.

Bemoin had likewiſe told the King that to the eaſt of the kingdom of Tombut, there was among other Princes, one that was neither Mahometan nor Idolater, but who ſeemed to profeſs a religion nearly reſembling the Chriſtian. Theſe informations compared with each other, and with the current accounts of Preſter John, induced the King to an opinion, which though formed ſomewhat at hazard, is ſtill believed to be right, that by paſſing up the river Senegal his dominions would be found. It was therefore ordered, that when the fortreſs was finiſhed an attempt ſhould be made to paſs upward to the ſource of the river. The deſign failed then, and has never yet ſucceeded.

Other ways likewiſe were tried of penetrating to the kingdom of Preſter John, for the King reſolved to leave neither ſea nor land unſearched 'till he ſhould be found. The two meſſengers who were ſent firſt on this deſign, went to Jeruſalem and then returned, being perſuaded that for want of underſtanding the language of the country, it would be vain or impoſſible to travel farther.—Two more were then diſpatched, one of whom

was Pedro de Covillan, the other Alphonſo de Paiva: they paſſed from Naples to Alexandria, and then travelled to Cairo, from whence they went to Aden a town of Arabia, on the Red-ſea near its mouth. From Aden, Paiva ſet ſail for Ethiopia, and Covillan for the Indies. Covillan viſited Conaver, Calicut, and Goa in the Indies, and Sofula in the eaſtern Africa, whence he returned to Aden, and then to Cairo, where he had agreed to meet Paiva. At Cairo he was informed that Paiva was dead, but he met with two Portugueſe Jews, one of whom had given the King an account of the ſituation and trade of Ormus; They brought orders to Covillan, that he ſhould ſend one of them home with the journal of his travels, and go to Ormus with the other.

Covillan obeyed the orders, ſending an exact account of his adventures to Liſbon, and proceeding with the other meſſenger to Ormus; where having made ſufficient enquiry, he ſent his companion homewards with the caravans that were going to Aleppo, and embarking once more on the Red-ſea, arrived in time at Abyſſinia, and found the Prince whom he had ſought ſo long and with ſuch danger.

Two ſhips were ſent out upon the ſame ſearch, of which Bartholomew Diaz had the chief command; they were attended by a ſmaller veſſel laden with proviſions, that they might not return upon pretence of want either felt or feared.

Navigation was now brought nearer to perfection. The Portugueſe claim the honour of many inventions by which the ſailor is aſſiſted, and which enable him to leave ſight of land, and commit himſelf to the boundleſs ocean. Diaz had orders to proceed beyond the river Zaire, where Diego Can had ſtopped, to build monuments of his diſcoveries, and to leave upon the coaſts Ne-

groe men and women well inſtructed, who might enquire after Preſter John, and fill the natives with reverence for the Portugueſe.

Diaz, with much oppoſition from his crew, whoſe mutinies he repreſſed partly by ſoftneſs and partly by ſteadineſs, ſailed on till he reached the utmoſt point of Africa, which from the bad weather that he met there, he called Cabo Tormentoſo, or the Cape of Storms. He would have gone forward, but his crew forced him to return. In his way back he met the Victualler, from which he had been parted nine months before; of the nine men which were in it at the ſeparation, ſix had been killed by the negroes, and of the three remaining, one died for joy at the ſight of his friends. Diaz returned to Liſbon in December 1487, and gave an account of his voyage to the King, who ordered the Cape of Storms to be called thenceforward Cabo de Buena Eſperanza, or the Cape of Good Hope.

Some time before the expedition of Diaz, the river Zaire and the kingdom of Congo had been diſcovered by Diego Can, who found a nation of Negroes who ſpoke a language which thoſe that were in in his ſhips could not underſtand. He landed, and the natives, whom he expected to fly like the other inhabitants of the coaſt; met them with confidence, and treated them with kindneſs; but Diego finding that they did not underſtand each other, ſeized ſome of their chiefs, and carried them to Portugal, leaving ſome of his own people in their room to learn the language of Congo.

The Negroes were ſoon pacified, and the Portugueſe left to their mercy were well treated; and as they by degrees grew able to make themſelves underſtood, recommending themſelves, their nation, and their religion. The King of Portugal ſent Diego back in a very ſhort time with the Ne-

groes whom he had forced away; and when they were ſet ſafe on ſhore, the King of Congo conceived ſo much eſteem for Diego, that he ſent one of thoſe who had returned back again in his ſhip to Liſbon, with two young men diſpatched as ambaſſadors, to deſire inſtructors to be ſent for the converſion of his kingdom.

The ambaſſadors were honourably received, and baptized with great pomp, and a fleet was immediately fitted out for Congo, under the command of Gonſalvo Sorza, who dying in his paſſage was ſucceeded in authority by his nephew Roderigo.

When they came to land, the King's uncle, who commanded the province, immediately requeſted to be ſolemnly initiated into the chriſtian religion, which was granted to him and his young ſon, on Eaſter day, 1491. The father was named Manuel, and the ſon Antonio. Soon afterwards the King, Queen, and eldeſt Prince received at the font the names of John, Eleanor, and Alphonſo; and a war breaking out, the whole army was admitted to the rites of chriſtianity, and then ſent againſt the enemy. They returned victorious, but ſoon forgot their faith, and formed a conſpiracy to reſtore paganiſm; a powerful oppoſition was raiſed by infidels and apoſtates, headed by one of the King's younger ſons; and the miſſionaries had been deſtroyed had not Alphonſo pleaded for them and for chriſtianity.

The enemies of religion now became the enemies of Alphonſo, whom they accuſed to his father of diſloyalty. His mother, Queen Eleanor, gained time by one artifice after another, till the King was calmed; he then heard the cauſe again, declared his ſon innocent, and puniſhed his accuſers with death.

The King died ſoon after, and the throne was diſputed by Alphonſo, ſupported by the chriſtians,

and Aquitimo his brother followed by the infidels, A battle was fought, Aquitimo was taken and put to death, and chriſtianity was for a time eſtabliſhed in Congo, but the nation has relapſed into its former follies.

Such was the ſtate of the Portugueſe navigation, when, in 1492, Columbus made the daring and proſperous voyage, which gave a new world to European curioſity and European cruelty. He had offered his propoſal, and declared his expectations to King John, of Portugal, who had ſlighted him as a fanciful and raſh projector, that promiſed what he had not reaſonable hopes to perform. Columbus had ſolicited other Princes, and had been repulſed with the ſame indignity ; at laſt Iſabella of Arragon furniſhed him with ſhips, and having found America, he entered the mouth of the Tagus in his return, and ſhewed the natives of the new country. When he was admitted to the King's preſence, he acted and talked with ſo much haughtineſs, and reflected on the neglect which he had undergone with ſo much acrimony, that the courtiers who ſaw their Prince inſulted, offered to deſtroy him ; but the King, who knew that he deſerved the reproaches that had been uſed, and who now ſincerely regretted his incredulity, would ſuffer no violence to be offered him ; but diſmiſſed him with preſents and with honours.

The Portugueſe and Spaniards became now jealous of each others claim to countries, which neither had not yet ſeen ; and the Pope, to whom they appealed, divided the new world between them by a line drawn from north to ſouth, a hundred leagues weſtward from Cape Verd and the Azores, giving all that lies eaſt to the Portugueſe. This was no ſatisfactory diviſion, for the eaſt and weſt muſt meet at laſt, but that time was then at a great diſtance.

According to this grant, the Portugueſe continued their diſcoveries eaſtward, and became maſters of much of the coaſt both of Africa and the Indies; but they ſeized much more than they could occupy, and while they were under the dominion of Spain, loſt the greater part of their Indian territories.

THE

FIRST VOYAGE

OF

Chriſtopher Columbus to America.

CHAPTER I.

Columbus's firſt Voyage. The Difficulties with which it was attended. His Diſcovery of the Lucayan or Bahama Iſlands, when the Men, deſpairing of finding Land, were about to throw him overboard. His diſcovering Cuba and Hiſpaniola. His Return to Spain, with the Reception he met with from their Catholic Majeſties.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born in the territory of Genoa, and being early taught navigation, lived by drawing charts for the ſea-ſervice. The ſkill of the Portugueſe in maritime affairs at length engaged him to ſettle at Liſbon, where by his ſobriety, temperance, and the regularity of his conduct, he acquired a conſiderable number of friends, married a woman of fortune, and for ſome time after, traded to the coaſt of Guinea.

Columbus, reaſoning upon the ſpherical figure of the earth, thought it highly probable that the continent on one ſide was balanced by an equal quantity of land on the other, in which he was

fully confirmed, by obſerving, when at the Cape de Verd iſlands, that the winds at a certain ſeaſon blew conſtantly from the weſt, which he thought muſt be owing to a large tract of land on that ſide. And as the Portugueſe had already diſcovered great part of the coaſt of Africa, and were filled with hopes of finding a paſſage to the Indies, he had no doubt that by ſailing to the weſt, he ſhould diſcover a ſhorter way thither, and by that means obtain the ſpices and other rich commodities of thoſe countries, much cheaper than they were ſold to the Venetians in Egypt, after being brought by land through Perſia.

Having ſtrengthened his opinion by many obſervations drawn from reaſon, he laid them before the ſtate of Genoa, with a propoſal for making new diſcoveries; but that republic rejected his ſcheme from the fear of drawing upon it the reſentment of ſeveral Princes; on which he addreſſed himſelf to John II. King of Portugal, who liſtened to his project, and amuſed him with the hopes of putting it in practice, 'till having drawn from him the eſſential part of his ſcheme, he, under the pretence of ſending ſupplies to the Cape de Verd iſlands, fitted out a veſſel, in order to make theſe diſcoveries, without allowing Columbus either the profit or honour he might juſtly have hoped to receive from them. His ungenerous enterpriſe, however, miſcarried through a want of courage and conduct in the perſons employed.

This unfair and clandeſtine conduct was ſo deeply reſented by Columbus, that he reſolved to leave Portugal, and that very year, 1485, ſent his brother Bartholomew with the ſame propoſals to Henry VII. king of England, while he himſelf prepared to go to Spain on the ſame account; but Bartholomew being taken and plundered by pi-

rates on his paſſage, was on his arrival at London, reduced to ſuch extreme poverty, as rendered him unable to gain an audience of his majeſty, untill by drawing and ſelling charts he obtained ſome reputation, and put himſelf into ſuch an equipage as was neceſſary for his obtaining acceſs to the King. This honour he obtained in the year 1488, when he met with all the ſucceſs that could deſired, and actually entered into an agreement with Henry VII. on behalf of his brother, ſeveral years before Chriſtopher cloſed with their catholic majeſties.

Mean while Chriſtopher Columbus met with many difficulties at the court of Ferdinand and Iſabella, where his ſcheme being treated as an idle chimerical project, and himſelf expoſed to ridicule, he was with difficulty prevented, by ſome who eſpouſed his cauſe, from coming to England, to ſee what ſucceſs his brother Bartholomew had met with. However, Queen Iſabella at length approving his ſcheme, the articles of agreement were ſigned in 1492, by which Columbus was made Viceroy of the countries and Admiral of the ſeas he ſhould diſcover; that he ſhould have the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found or acquired, within thoſe limits, after the charge of the conqueſt ſhould be defrayed, together with an eighth part of all he ſhould bring home with his fleet, in conſideration of which he was to be at one eighth part of the expence in fitting it out.

The neceſſary preliminaries being thus adjuſted, he was allowed three ſmall veſſels, the Santa Maria, commanded by himſelf; the Pinta under the command of Martin Alonzo Pinzon; and the Nina, with ſquare ſails, commanded by Vincent Yanez Pinzon, brother to the former; the latter furniſhing one half of Columbus's ſhare of the expence.

This ſmall fleet, which carried only about 120 men, ſet ſail from Palos on the 3d of Auguſt 1492, but the next morning the rudder of the Pinta broke looſe, which obliged the Admiral to lie by. This damage, which was ſuppoſed to have been contrived by the maſter, who was averſe to the voyage, was however ſoon repaired. This accident ſome of the ſuperſtitious ſeamen would have interpreted as an ill omen; but Columbus wiſely told them, that no omen could be evil, where people were engaged in a good deſign. He endeavoured to divert their attention from ſuch trifles by teaching them the principles of navigation, and to keep up their ſpirits by giving them right ſentiments of the undertaking in which they were embarked.

The fleet reached the Canaries on the 11th, and ſtaid at the iſlands of grand Canaria and Iſabella, till the 6th of September, in order to purchaſe another ſhip, but being diſappointed, they ſailed to the weſtward with very little wind. Three days after loſing ſight of land, many people on board wept bitterly from an apprehenſion that they ſhould never ſee it more. To remove this childiſh deſpondency, which it was feared would infect the whole company, Columbus gave them the moſt confident aſſurances of proſperity and wealth, and at the ſame time thought proper to deceive them in his reckoning; for though they ſailed eighteen leagues that day, he pretended they had made no more than fifteen, reſolving thus to diſguiſe his reckoning during the whole voyage, that theſe ſpiritleſs fellows might not think themſelves ſo far from Spain as they really were.

On the 12th of September he was 150 leagues weſt of Ferro, and at this diſtance from land diſcovered the body of a large tree, which appeared to have been long floating in the water. He here

found a ſtrong current ſetting to the north-eaſt, and having run fifty leagues farther weſtward, he on the 13th perceived the needle varying half a point towards the north-eaſt, and at day-break half a point more. This variation which had never been obſerved before, filled him with great ſurpriſe; but his amazement was much encreaſed when ſailing about 100 leagues farther, he found that the needle varied at night about a point to the north-eaſt, and in the morning pointed upon the north-ſtar.

On the 14th, the people on board the Nina were ſurpriſed at the ſight of a heron, and ſome tropic birds; but the next day their aſtoniſhment was greatly encreaſed at ſeeing the ſea covered with green and yellow weeds that ſeemed to have been lately waſhed away from ſome rock or iſland: Hence they concluded that they were near land, eſpecially as they found a live lobſter floating among the weeds, and afterwards perceived the ſea-water grow leſs ſalt as they advanced; they were alſo attended by a great ſhoal of tunny fiſh.

On the 18th, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, Captain of the Pinta, who was a-head, lay too for the Admiral, and informed him that he had ſeen a great number of birds flying weſtward, and thought he diſcovered land to the northward at 15 leagues diſtance; but the Admiral, being convinced that he was miſtaken, would not alter his courſe, though ſolicited by the people, who readily gave credit to ſuch an agreeable alluſion; but the next day the Admiral ſeeing a number of ſea-gulls, which he ſuppoſed could not fly far, began himſelf to conceive hopes of ſoon reaching land; yet ſounding with a line of 200 fathom he could find no bottom.

Three days after they took a bird like a heron, of a black colour, with a white tuft on the head, and web-footed; they alſo ſaw abundance of weeds

and in the evening were viſited by three ſmall birds ſinging, which flew away at day break, and confirmed Columbus in the opinion, that they could not be far from land. The next day they alſo ſaw a tropic bird, but met with ſuch a quantity of weeds as filled them with apprehenſions that their courſe would be impeded.

As the wind had hitherto been always right aſtern, the people were under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions that they ſhould never have a fair gale to carry them back; but about this time it ſhifted to the ſouth-weſt, which gave great ſatisfaction to the Admiral, as it afforded him room to convince the ſailors of the vanity of their fears; yet in ſpite of all his reaſons and remonſtrances, they began loudly to murmur from the apprehenſion of periſhing at ſea in queſt of a country that had no exiſtence, and their diſcontent made them ſo outrageous, that a mutiny would probably have enſued had not a briſk wind ſprung up at the weſt-north-weſt, and demonſtrated that they ſhould always have a chance for returning. Their hope of obtaining land was alſo revived by ſeeing a pigeon fly over the ſhip, and by the ſight of ſeveral ſmall birds flying from the weſt.

In proportion as the people were elated by theſe ſigns, the greater was their mortification on their diſappointment. They not only complained againſt the Admiral, who, they ſaid, had from a fooliſh and ill grounded fancy formed the deſign of raiſing his own fortune and family at their expence, but caballed againſt him, maintaining that they had already proceeded far enough to ſhew their courage and perſeverance, and that it was therefore high time to return to their friends and country, though they ſhould be even obliged to compel Columbus to conſent to it. They conſidered that the Admiral was a foreigner, and there-

fore would ſcarcely have intereſt enough at court to bring them to puniſhment for their diſobedience, eſpecially as he had powerful enemies, who they knew, would embrace every opportunity of oppoſing his deſigns. In ſhort, their terror and deſpair were raiſed to ſuch a height, that ſome propoſed throwing him overboard, and alleged that when that was done they ſhould be ſecured from all farther danger, by their affirming, on their return to Spain, that he had fallen into the ſea while he was making his obſervations. Columbus who was not ignorant of this mutinous ſpirit, exerted all his abilities in order to remove it: He ſometimes repreſented the duty they owed him, as being inveſted with a legal authority, which he was reſolved to maintain at the hazard of his life; and at others reproached them with their puſillanimity and impatience, which even the moſt evident ſigns of their being near land could not remove. In ſhort, he ſhewed the folly of their fears, and ſo far encouraged their hopes as to prevent their taking any reſolution that could prejudice the important enterprize in which they were engaged.

On the 25th of September, about ſun-ſetting, Pinzon, whoſe ſhip was along ſide of the Admiral, ſuddenly cried out Land! land! and pointed towards the ſouth-weſt, where there appeared ſomething like at iſland at 25 leagues diſtance. This at once filled the men with ſuch joy that they gave thanks to God with great fervour and devotion, and though Columbus was was of a different opinion, he readily complied with their clamorous demand of ſailing to it, and ſtood towards the ſuppoſed iſland during the greateſt part of the night; but in the morning they ſaw all their hopes vaniſhed, when their diſſatisfaction returning, they renewed their complaints. The admiral, however, with a ſteadineſs and intrepidity peculiar to himſelf, perſiſted in the execution of his purpoſe.

On the 29th they ſaw ſeveral wagtails and gulls, many flying fiſhes alſo appeared, and ſometimes fell into the ſhip, and in the afternoon they met with a large quantity of weeds, which the men fancied afforded a proof that there was ground near them under water, and that they ſhould ſoon run upon it and periſh.

On the 1ſt of October the pilot of the admiral's ſhip was by his own account, 578 leagues weſt of the iſland of Ferro, and though the diſtance according to Columbus's reckoning was 707, he winked at the miſtake, leſt the ſailors ſhould be more dejected on knowing their great diſtance from home. Two days after perceiving no birds, they imagined they had paſſed between ſome iſlands, and the ſailors earneſtly intreated the admiral to ſteer either to the one ſide or to the other in queſt of the land they imagined they had left. He however refuſed to comply with their entreaties, being unwilling to loſe the favorable wind that carried him to the weſtward, and reſolved not to take any ſtep to leſſen the reputation of his undertaking, which muſt have ſuffered in the opinion of his people, had he changed his courſe from that which he had all along aſſured them would terminate in the accompliſhment of their wiſhes. This fortitude they termed obſtinacy and madneſs, and were actually on the point of taking ſome deſperate reſolution to his prejudice, when their hopes were again revived by the arrival of upwards of forty ſparrows, and other birds flying from the weſt.

On the 7th of October there appeared ſome imperfect ſigns of land; but nobody would venture to mention it; for though their Catholic majeſties had promiſed a penſion of thirty crowns per annum for life, to him who ſhould be ſo happy as firſt to diſcover land, yet in order to prevent the noiſy exclamations at every trifling imagination of

this ſort, it was alſo decreed, that whoever ſhould cry land three days before it was actually made, ſhould forfeit the reward, even though it ſhould be afterwards proved that he was the diſcoverer. In ſpite of this precaution the Nina, which being the beſt ſailor kept always a head, fired a gun, and hoiſted her colours in token of land; but the appearance that miſled them totally vaniſhed at their nearer approach. The people were, however, the next day in ſome meaſure comforted under their diſappointment by obſerving many flights of large and ſmall birds, which proceeded from the weſt to the ſouth-weſt, when the admiral being fully perſuaded that they could not go far to ſea, in imitation of the Portugueſe, who had diſcovered ſeveral iſlands by following the flight of ſuch birds, altered his courſe and ſtood to the ſouth-weſt; for he had now run 750 leagues to the weſtward of the Canaries, within which ſpace he himſelf expected to make land.

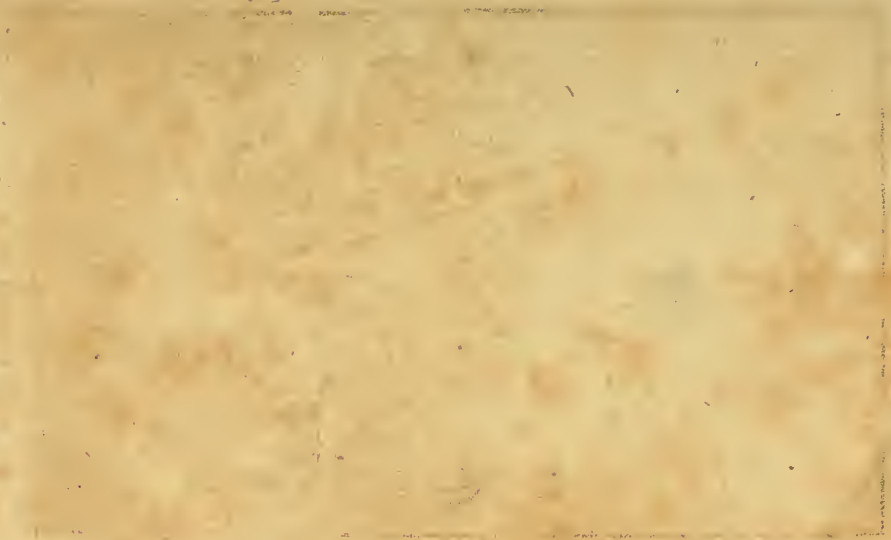
On the 8th of October they were viſited by 12 ſinging birds of different colours, and ſaw many others, as jays, ducks, and gulls, flying to the ſouth-weſt. The air alſo appeared freſh and odoriferous, but the puſillanimous ſeamen had been ſo often deceived, that theſe certain ſigns of their being near land could not ſuppreſs their murmurs, which, during the two following days, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the brave Columbus, in ſpite of all his endeavours, would not have been able much longer to have withſtood the ſtorm, which was ready to burſt into open rebellion, when it was providentially diſſipated by ſuch manifeſt proofs of their approach to land as could not be diſputed.

On the 11th of October, thoſe on board the admiral's ſhip ſaw a green ruſh together with a large rock fiſh ſwim by the ſhip; the ſailors of the Pinta

diſcovered a cane floating, and, what was much more extraordinary, took up a ſtaff curiouſly wrought, together with a ſmall board, and at the ſame time the crew of the Nina perceived a branch of thorn full of red berries.

Theſe objects having now aſſured the admiral of their new approach to land, he at night, after prayers, reminded them of the mercy of God in granting them fair weather during ſuch a long voyage, and exhorted them to be vigilant that night, as he expected to ſee land the next day, and not only mentioned the penſion of thirty crowns, but promiſed to give a velvet doublet to him who ſhould be the firſt diſcoverer. After this ſpeech he retired to the great cabin, from whence perceiving what appeared to be a light on ſhore, he called to one of the ſailors, who being deſired to obſerve, acknowledged that he plainly ſaw it, and ſuppoſed it to be a candle or torch belonging to ſome fiſhermen or traveller, as it ſeemed to move, and to vaniſh and appear by turns. This increaſed their vigilance and caution, though they ſtill purſued their courſe until about two in the morning, when the Pinta, being far a-head, gave the ſignal of land, which was firſt diſcovered by a ſailor at the diſtance of two leagues; the penſion however, was given to the Admiral, who had before perceived the light. As they were now ſo near the ſhore, all the ſhips lay to, and the people waited for morning with the greateſt impatience, in order to feaſt their eyes with what they had ſo long and ſo earneſtly wiſhed to behold.

Their hopes, however, were not now diſappointed, for day no ſooner dawned than they perceived an iſland about forty-five Engliſh miles in length, and almoſt one continued plain, covered with green trees; it was ſupplied with delightful rivers, and had a great lake in the middle. It was



Thackara Sc.

COLUMBUS

taking poſſeſſion of St Salvadore in America.

inhabited by a number of people, who being aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the ſhips, which they at firſt miſtook for living creatures, ran down to the ſhore. The Spaniards were inflamed by the moſt eager curioſity to know the particulars of this intereſting diſcovery, and the veſſels were no ſooner brought to an anchor, than the admiral landed in his boat well armed, with the royal ſtandard diſplayed, attended by the other two captains in their reſpective boats with the particular enſigns of this enterpriſe.

Immediately on their landing they kneeled on the ſhore, gave thanks to God, and ſhedding tears of joy, kiſſed the ground. Columbus then ſtanding up, gave the iſland, which was called by the natives Guanihani, the name of Saint Salvador, (now called Cat Iſland) and took poſſeſſion of it for their Catholic majeſties. This ceremony being performed, he was acknowledged as admiral and viceroy by the Spaniards, who now implored his pardon for the affronts and inſults they had offered him, and joyfully ſwore to obey him as their majeſties' repreſentative.

A multitude of the Indians were preſent at theſe tranſactions, and they appearing to be a very ſimple and quiet people, Columbus diſtributed amongſt them ſtrings of glaſs beads, red caps, and other things of ſmall value, which they received with tranſport, and on his returning to his ſhip, ſome of them ſwam after him, while others followed in canoes, with javelins armed with fiſh-bones, ſpun cotton, parrots, and other things, to barter for ſuch trifles as he had diſtributed among the reſt. Few of theſe people ſeemed to be above thirty years of age, they were of a middle ſtature, well-ſhaped, and of an olive-colour, with thick lank black hair, which was generally cut ſhort above their ears, though others had ſuffered it to

grow, and tied it up like the treſſes of women. They had open countenances, very regular features, and high foreheads. The bodies of ſome and the faces of others were painted black, white, and red, though a few of them had only their noſes and eye-lids coloured. But all of both ſexes were entirely naked; and ſo little were they acquainted with European arms, that they handled a naked ſword by the edge, without any ſuſpicion that it was capable of hurting them. Some of theſe people being aſked by ſigns how they had got the wounds, the marks of which were ſtill viſible on their bodies, they anſwered in the ſame manner, that they received them in their own defence, when fighting againſt the inhabitants of other iſlands who came with a view to enſlave them.

The next morning, being the 13th of October, many of the Indians came to the ſhips in their canoes, which were made by hollowing the trunk of a tree. Some of theſe were ſo ſmall as to hold only one perſon, and others large enough to contain forty. They were rowed with paddles, and were ſo light that if they happened to be overſet, the rowers could eaſily ſet them right again, and empty the water with calabaſhes, or dried gourds, which they carried with them for that purpoſe.

Theſe Indians had no jewels nor any kind of metal except ſmall plates of gold that hung at their noſtrils, which by their ſigns, they informed the Spaniards came from the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, where there were many countries and iſlands.—They were ſo fond of poſſeſſing any thing belonging to the Spaniards, that ſome of them picked up bits of broken earthen ware that lay upon the deck, leaped into the ſea and ſwam aſhore with them. They were ready to exchange any thing in their poſſeſſion for the moſt inſignificant trifles, and ſome of them gave twenty-five pounds of well

ſpun cotton for three ſmall pieces of Portugueſe braſs coin not worth a farthing. Not that they believed theſe things had much intrinſic value; but they ſeemed to prize them only becauſe they belonged to white men, whom they conſidered as people deſcended from heaven, and of whom they deſired to keep ſome memorial.

On the 14th of October the admiral coaſted the iſland in his boat towards the north-weſt, until he diſcovered a large bay or harbour ſufficient to contain all the ſhips of Europe, being all the while followed both by ſea and land by crouds of the inhabitants, who expreſſed their wonder and regard by a variety of geſticulations. At length arriving at a peninſula, he ſaw ſeveral of their houſes and plantations, which appeared as pleaſant as thoſe of Caſtile in the month of May.—However, finding that this was not the land he was in ſearch of, he took ſeven of the Indians to ſerve as interpreters, and returning to his ſhips, ſailed to other iſlands that were viſible from the peninſula.

On the 15th of October, having ſailed ſeven leagues, he arrived at the weſt end of another iſland which he found to be about ten leagues in length, and gave it the name of St. Mary of the Conception; but perceiving that the inhabitants differed but little from thoſe of St. Salvador, and that it produced nothing worth notice, he continued his courſe weſtward, and anchored upon the coaſt of another larger iſland, which extended north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt above twenty-eight leagues. Before he reached this agreeable ſpot, which he named Fernanda, he took up an Indian whom he found at ſea in a ſmall canoe, furniſhed with a piece of their bread, a calabaſh filled with water, and a little earth reſembling vermilion, which was uſed by thoſe people in painting their

bodies. This Indian had alſo a ſmall baſket, in which was contained a ſtring of glaſs beads and two ſmall pieces of Portugueſe money, from which it appeared that he was bound from St. Salvador to Fernanda, with the ſtrange news of the admiral's arrival; but the voyage being long he was weary with paddling, and deſired to be taken on board. Columbus treated him courteouſly, gave him bread and honey to eat, made him drink wine, and on ſetting him on ſhore gave him ſome toys, in order that by his favourable report he might prepoſſeſs the natives of Fernanda in favour of the Spaniards. The ſucceſs anſwered the admiral's expectation; for the iſlanders, on hearing the favourable account given by the Indian, came in their canoes to barter with the ſame ſort of commodities which were found at St. Salvador; but they appeared to have more ſagacity, and made more advantageous bargains. The women wore a kind of cotton cloth round their middle. Their houſes were built like tents, but had ſcarcely any furniture; and the beds in which they lay were formed of a kind of nets that hung from two poſts. Here were ſome trees that ſeemed as if ingrafted by their bearing leaves or branches of four or five different kinds. There were plenty of fiſh of different ſhapes and colours, with ſome lizards, ſnakes, and dogs that could not bark.

Columbus, finding nothing valuable in this iſland, ſailed on the 19th of October to another, to which he gave the name of Iſabella, in honour of her Catholic majeſty. This iſland far exceeded the others in beauty and extent. It abounded with rivers, pleaſant meadows and groves, and the proſpect was deverſified with hills, which the reſt wanted: the ear was delighted with the ſongs of birds, which not only hopped from bough to bough, but even flew in ſuch flocks as darkened

the air. Near one of the lakes the Spaniards killed an alligator ſeven feet long with their ſpears, which, though at firſt they beheld with horror, they afterwards ſkinned and eat, this animal being eſteemed by the Indians as moſt delicious food.

Columbus was no ſooner acquainted with the produce of Iſabella, and the manners of the inhabitants, than he ſet ſail with a fair wind, for a large country to the ſouth, which was extolled by the Indians under the name of Cuba, and arrived there on the 28th of October. It exhibited a pleaſing variety of hills and dales, woods and plains, and from the extent of its coaſt and the largeneſs of its rivers, appeared to be of great conſequence.

To obtain ſome intelligence of the natives, the admiral caſt anchor in a broad river, the banks of which were ſhaded by thick and tall trees that were at the ſame time adorned with bloſſoms and fruit entirely unknown in Europe. Soon after their landing they entered two houſes which were deſerted by the natives, who, being terrified at the appearance of ſhips, had fled; upon which the Spaniards re-embarked without touching any of their effects, and continued their courſe weſtward until they arrived at the mouth of another river: but this being larger than the other, Columbus ſailed a conſiderable way up it. The banks were all along inhabited; but here alſo the natives fled with all the effects they could carry to the mountains, which aroſe to a conſiderable height, and were covered with lofty trees.

Columbus being ſenſible that if the inhabitants ſhould thus continue to avoid him, he ſhould never be able to learn the nature of the iſland, and being afraid of encreaſing their terror by landing a number of men, ordered two Spaniards attended by

an Indian of St. Salvador and another of Cuba, who had boldly ventured to come a-board with his canoe, to travel up into the country, and to endeavour by their obliging behaviour to remove the terror of the people. In the mean time he directed his ſhip to be careened, on which occaſion he obſerved that the only fuel of the country was maſtic wood, which grew there in great plenty.

On the 5th of November the two Spaniards returned, accompanied by the Indian king and his ſon, and informed the admiral that they had travelled twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town conſiſting of fifty wooden houſes covered with ſtraw, which contained about one thouſand people; that they were met by the principal perſons of the place, who took them by the arms and led them to the town, where they were allowed a ſpacious lodging, in which they were ſeated upon wooden benches in the form of ſome ſtrange animals with their tails lifted up for them to lean upon, and had eyes and ears of gold The Spaniards being ſeated on theſe benches, the Indians ſat around them on the ground, and came one by one to kiſs the hands and feet of theſe ſtrangers, imagining they had come from heaven; they at the ſame time treated them with boiled roots, which in their taſte reſembled cheſnuts. After the men had thus fulfilled the rites of hoſpitality, they retired, to make room for the women, who alſo kiſſed their hands and feet, and entertained them with their homely fare. This favourable reception they owed to the two Indian attendants, who repreſented the Spaniards as a humane and generous people.

On their ſetting out to return to the ſhip, a great number of the natives propoſed to accompany them; this offer they declined, and would accept of none but the Cacique or king and his

ſon, under whoſe protection they were entertained with great reſpect at ſeveral petty towns; meeting many of the inhabitants, who always carried lighted brands to kindle the fires with which they roaſted the roots that conſtituted their principal food. In return for theſe civilities, the Cacique and his ſon were treated by the admiral with great kindneſs and reſpect.

In this excurſion they ſaw a variety of birds, among which were partridges and nightingales; but no quadrupedes, except a kind of dogs which could not bark. A great part of the land was cultivated and produced beſides the bread-root, maize or Indian corn, of which the natives made a very well taſted flour. Their principal manufacture was cotton, which they gathered from trees that grew without the leaſt care or culture, and of this they made vaſt quantities of well ſpun yarn, but had no other uſe for it than forming hammocks and ſhort aprons for the women. The Indians afterwards carried great quantities of this cotton on board the ſhips, where they willingly exchanged a baſket full of it for a thong of leather. They had no gold, pearl or ſpices, but pointed towards the eaſt, where they intimated that there was a country plentifully ſtored with them.

In conſequence of the above information, Columbus reſolved to ſail to a place which the Indians called Bohio; but before he left Cuba he ſeized twelve Indians whom he intended to carry into Spain, which ſeizure was made with ſuch little diſturbance, that the huſband of one of the women he had taken, came to the ſhip in his canoe, and begged that he might be allowed to accompany his wife and children. This inſtance of affection gave great pleaſure to the admiral, who inſtantly granted his requeſt, and gave orders for their being kindly treated.

On the 12th of November, Columbus, who had before endeavoured to leave the iſland, but was driven back, ſteered eaſtward for the iſland of Bohio, but the wind being ſtill contrary, he was obliged to ply two or three days between the iſlands of Cuba and Iſabella. In this interval Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who had been informed by ſome Indians whom he had concealed in his ſhip, that Bohio abounded in gold, took advantage of the ſwiftneſs of his veſſel, and left Columbus in the night, in order to anticipate his ſucceſs, and ingroſs the treaſure of that wealthy iſland to himſelf.

Columbus being thus abandoned by one of his conſorts, and the weather growing ſo rough as to render it dangerous for him to keep the ſea, he returned to another harbour in Cuba, to which he gave the name of St. Catherine's. While the crews were here employed in taking in wood and water, he accidently diſcovered ſigns of gold on ſome ſtones in the river, and up in the country ſaw mountains covered with tall pines ſufficient to furniſh maſts for the largeſt ſhips, and plenty of oaks fit for planks. In his run along the coaſt for ten or twelve leagues to the ſouth-eaſt, he diſcovered many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was ſo delighted with the beautiful appearance of the country, that he was even tempted to fix his habitation there for life. Sailing up one of the rivers, he ſaw a canoe drawn upon land as large as a twelve oar barge, and afterwards perceived in the water another canoe, which, though formed of the trunk of a ſingle tree, was ſeventy feet long, and capable of containing fifty men.

The admiral having coaſted the iſland for 106 leagues, ſet ſail again for Bohio, which, though it was but at 16 leagues diſtance, he was prevented by the currents from reaching till the next day,

when he anchored in a port to which he gave the name of St. Nicholas, from its being the feſtival of that Saint. He found that the harbour was large, deep, extremely ſafe, and encompaſſed with a great number of tall trees, which however were not in general ſo large as thoſe of Cuba; but not being able to obtain any intercourſe with the inhabitants, who fled at his approach, he coaſted the iſland to the northward, until he arrived at a port which he called the Conception, when obſerving that the country was very extenſive, and in many reſpects reſembled Spain both in the trees, plants, and fiſhes, he gave it the name of Eſpaniola or Hiſpaniola. He here ſaw a number of the natives, who, upon the landing of the ſailors fled from them with great precipitation; but they having at length taken a young woman who had a plate of gold hanging at her noſe, ſhe was conducted to the admiral, who preſented her with ſeveral trifles, ſuch as ſmall bells and glaſs toys, civilly diſmiſſed her to the town where ſhe dwelt, ſending with her three Spaniards and the ſame number of Indians.

The next day eleven men well armed, went on ſhore, and travelled four leagues up the country, where they found a town which conſiſted of one thouſand houſes, and though the inhabitants, as uſual, fled at their approach, they ſoon returned, at the perſuaſion of a St. Salvador Indian, who followed them, and removed their fears by the favourable account he gave of the Spaniards, on whom they gazed with equal aſtoniſhment and awe: they even brought them food, and preſſed them to ſtay in the town all night: the Spaniards however, declined accepting this invitation, and returning to their ſhips, told the admiral, that the country was fertile and pleaſant, and the people whiter and handſomer than thoſe they had hitherto

ſeen; that they were courteous and tractable, and had let them know that gold was to be found farther to the eaſtward.

At this news Columbus immediately ſet ſail, and between Hiſpaniola and a ſmall iſland on the north coaſt, called afterwards Tortuga, he took up, in a very rough ſea, an Indian who was ſtruggling with the waves in a little canoe, and giving him ſome preſents of a ſmall value, ſet him ſafe aſhore on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola. This man informing his countrymen of the manner in which he had been treated, induced them to come on board, but they brought nothing with them of conſequence, except ſome ſmall grains of gold which hung at their ears and noſtrils, of which they ſhewed by ſigns that there was a great quantity higher up in the country.

While the Spaniards were on ſhore the next day bartering with the Cacique or ſovereign of that diſtrict for a plate of gold, forty men in a canoe approached from the iſland of Tortuga, when the Cacique perceiving them ſat down with his people on the ſtrand, as a ſignal that they ſhould not commit hoſtilities, but notwithſtanding this they landed; upon which he aroſe, and by his threats obliged them to re-embark, and then giving a ſtone to one of the Spaniſh officers, made a ſign for him to throw it at the Tortugans, to ſhew that he would eſpouſe the couſe of theſe ſtrangers againſt the Indians of the canoe, who on their ſeeing this, returned to the iſland.

On the 18th of December the ſame Cacique came to pay the admiral a viſit, carried in ſtate on a palanquin and attended by 200 men, though both he and they were entirely naked. He made no difficulty of going on board Columbus's ſhip, and the admiral being at dinner, entered the cabin without ceremony, attended by two old men who

ſeemed to be his counſellors, who ſat down at his feet. Columbus received him with great civility and reſpect, and had proviſions and wine ſet before him, which on his taſting he ſent to ſome of his men who remained upon deck. After dinner, during which both he and the two old men ſpoke but little, he preſented the admiral with two thin pieces of gold and a wrought girdle; in return for theſe he received a ſtring of amber beads, which the admiral took from his own neck, a pair of red ſhoes, a counterpane, and a bottle of orange flour water, wherewith this prince and his two attendants were ſo delighted, that they ſignified to Columbus, that the whole iſland was at his diſpoſal. The admiral then ſhewed him the effigies of Ferdinand and Iſabella impreſt in a gold medal, which he viewed with admiration, and indeed ſhewed ſigns of aſtoniſhment at every thing he ſaw. In the evening he was, at his own deſire, ſent aſhore in the ſhip's boat, and ſaluted with a diſcharge of ſeveral guns, the noiſe whereof filled him with amazement and terror; he was, however, ſo ſatisfied with his reception, that he ordered his people to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him to land, and returned home with the admiral's preſents carried with great pomp and oſtentation before him.

On the 24th of December, Columbus weighed, and ſailed to a promontory, afterwards called Punta Santa, where, the weather being calm, he anchored about a league from ſhore and retired to reſt, which he had not enjoyed for two nights before; his example was followed by the crew, who, contrary to his repeated orders, had the folly to leave only a boy at the helm. This inſtance of neglect proved fatal; for about midnight the veſſel was carried upon a ridge of rocks, before any on board were aware of the danger. The ad-

miral being the firſt who was awakened by the cries of the boy at the helm, ran upon deck and perceiving the rocks, ordered the maſter and three ſailors to leap into the boat and carry out an anchor aſtern; but inſtead of obeying his directions, they rowed to the other ſhip in order to preſerve their own lives. Upon this, Columbus immediately cauſed the veſſel to be lightened, and the maſts to be cut away; but all his endeavours were ineffectual, and the water ebbing, the ſeams of the ſhip opened. But while they were in this emergency the boat returned, the other ſhip refuſing to receive the men who had deſerted their duty. The admiral then ſeeing no hopes of ſaving his own veſſel, took the boat, and going with his men on board the other, the next morning diſpatched meſſengers to inform the Cacique of this diſaſter, and to deſire the aſſiſtance of the natives in unlading the ſhip. The Cacique, who condoled their misfortunes with tears in his eyes, immediately ordered his people to repair to the wreck in their canoes, and to obey Columbus's directions; and by their aſſiſtance all the valuable effects were carried on ſhore, and depoſited in the houſes appointed for that purpoſe.

On the 26th of December this friendly Cacique, whoſe name was Guacanagari, paid another viſit to the admiral, whoſe loſs he lamented with many expreſſions of ſorrow: made him ſeveral preſents, and perceiving how fond the Spaniards were of gold, promiſed to ſend for a great quantity of that metal from a place called Cebao. Mean while a canoe with Indians from another iſland brought plates of gold to exchange them for bells, on which they ſet a very great value, and the ſeamen on ſhore traded with the natives of Hiſpaniola who came from the inland part of the country, and bartered gold for points and other trifles. Among

the reſt, an Indian came to the ſhore with a piece of gold that weighed four ounces, and holding it in one hand ſtretched out the other, and an hawk's bell being put into it, he let go the gold and ran away, thinking he had cheated the Spaniard.

Columbus being greatly pleaſed both with this iſland and the manners of its inhabitants, reſolved to ſettle a colony upon it, and was encouraged to take this ſtep by many of his men voluntarily offering to ſettle there. While the Cacique Guacanagari inſtead of being diſpoſed to take umbrage at their neighbourhood, conſidered them as valuable allies, who would protect him againſt the invaſion of the Caribbee Indians: and in order to ſhew the importance of his friendſhip, Columbus gave orders, in the preſence of this prince, for firing a great gun at the wreck, through which the ball penetrated, and fell into the water on the oppoſite ſide, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Indians, who believed that their gueſts knew how to dart the thunder of heaven, and therefore earneſtly implored their protection. In compliance with this requeſt made to him by Guacanagari, Columbus ordered a fort to be built of the timber of the wreck, and having furniſhed it with proviſions, ammunition, ſmall arms and cannon, manned it with a garriſon of thirty-ſix men under the command of Roderick d'Eſcovedo, Peter Gutieres, and James d'Arana, whom he warmly recommended to the favour and good offices of the friendly Cacique and his people. Having thus provided the fort with all neceſſaries, he cauſed a few houſes to be built, named the place the town of Nativity, and reſolved to return immediately to Caſtile, leſt ſome misfortune happening to the only ſhip he had now under his command, he ſhould be for ever diſabled from letting their Catholic majeſties know the important diſcoveries he

had already made, and the countries he had annexed to their dominions.

When every thing was ready for his departure, he called thoſe together who choſe to be left upon the iſland, and addreſſing himſelf to them, deſired them to return thanks to God for having carried them to ſuch a country to plant his holy faith; and not to forſake him their Almighty Friend, but by living like good Chriſtians to inſure his protection; he exhorted them to love and obey their captain; to reſpect Guacanagari, and to give no offence to any of his people; and that the opinion of their coming from heaven might be confirmed, they ſhould offer no violence to any of the natives, obſerving that it would be for their intereſt to barter with them fairly without covetouſneſs; to endeavour to learn their language, which would be of great uſe, and to gain their friendſhip, which would render them happy and ſecure. In return for which he promiſed to intreat their majeſties to reward them for opening the way to that new world.

He ſet ſail from the port of Nativity on the 4th of January, taking ſuch notice of the land as would enable him to diſcover the mouth of the harbour in any future expedition; and ſailing to a high mountain, he gave it the name of Monte Chriſto; but the wind being contrary, he made but little way, when two days after he fell in with the Pinta, under the command of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who going on board, ſtrove to excuſe his deſertion, by pretending he had loſt ſight of the admiral in the night, and by alleging other frivolous excuſes; but though Columbus plainly ſaw the fallacy of all theſe pretences, he choſe to diſguiſe his ſentiments rather than run any riſk of prejudicing the common cauſe, by giving riſe to a dangerous diſſention.

Pinzon had ſailed to a river fifteen leagues to the eaſt of the port of Nativity, where he had ſpent ſixteen days in bartering with the natives for gold, of which he had procured a conſiderable quantity; one half whereof he diſtributed among his crew in order to obtain popularity, and to gain their conſent to keep the remainder for his own uſe. He afterwards anchored near Monte Chriſto, the wind not permitting him to proceed farther, and then he ſailed in his boat up a river to the ſouth-weſt of the mount, where diſcovering ſome gold duſt among the ſand, he called it the Golden river.

On the 13th of January, being near the cape called Enamorado, Columbus ſent his boat on ſhore, where there ſtood ſome Indians, with all the ſigns of conſternation and great fierceneſs in their countenances. They were armed with bows and arrows, and other weapons, and made a ſhew of oppoſition; but by the mediation of a St. Salvador Indian, they were brought to a kind of conference. One of them then ventured on board the admiral's ſhip, but appeared extremely ſavage both in ſpeech and aſpect, which was ſmutted with charcoal. This man having anſwered ſeveral queſtions, partly by ſigns and partly by means of the Indian interpreter, he was feaſted, and then ſet aſhore with preſents of glaſs beads and bits of red and green cloth, that he might perſuade his countrymen to bring in gold in exchange for ſuch trifles.

At the place where he was ſet on ſhore there were 50 men with long hair adorned with plumes of parrots feathers, and being armed with bows and arrows, refuſed to trade with the Spaniards, notwithſtanding the perſuaſions of their countryman; but on the contrary treated them with ſcorn and even began to commit hoſtilities. The Spaniards, who were but ſeven in number, ſeeing them advance with fury in their looks, met them

half way, and boldly charging them, ſhot one with an arrow and wounded another with a ſword, on which they inſtantly fled. Columbus was far from being diſpleaſed at this ſkirmiſh, which he imagined would give them ſuch an high opinion of the bravery of his men as would prevent their making any attempts to the prejudice of the ſettlement at the Nativity.

On the 16th of January the admiral ſet ſail with his two ſhips for Spain, but after having enjoyed a favorable gale until they were within two hundred and ſixty-three leagues to the weſtward of Ferro, they were overtaken by ſuch a tempeſt on the 14th of February, that the ſea running mountains high, they were unable to work their veſſels, and were toſſed about at the mercy of the waves. During this ſtorm, the two ſhips were ſeparated, when the ſeamen in each, concluding that thoſe in the other had periſhed, betook themſelves to acts of devotion, and the admiral vowed to go a pilgrimage to our Lady of Gaudalupe; but the ſtorm ſtill increaſing, the whole crew of the admiral's ſhip joined in a vow to walk barefoot and in their ſhirts to ſome church dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin, in the firſt Chriſtian country on which they ſhould land. They had great ſcarcity of proviſions, and their ſhip wanting ballaſt, was in danger of being overſet. To remedy this laſt inconvenience, Columbus ordered his caſks to be filled with ſea water, and that his diſcovery might have ſome chance of being known, in caſe he and his men periſhed, he wrote a brief account of it upon two ſkins of parchment which he wrapt in oil-cloths covered with wax, and having incloſed them in two ſeparate caſks, had them thrown into the ſea. This muſt be allowed to have been an extraordinary inſtance both of his prudence and fortitude.

On the 15th of February, at which time the ſtorm ſtill continued, one of the ſailors diſcovered land, which the pilot judged to be the rock of Liſbon, though the admiral imagined it to be one of the Azore iſlands, where they with great difficulty caſt anchor four days after. The admiral being lame in both his legs in conſequence of the fatigue he had undergone, many of the inhabitants came on board with freſh proviſions and compliments from the governor, expreſſing their amazement at the ſucceſs of the expedition, and ſeeming to rejoice at Columbus's diſcovery. They were alſo ſurpriſed to ſee that they had outlived the ſtorm, and letting the ſailors know that there was in that neighbourhood an hermitage dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin, the admiral and his crew reſolved to perform their vow, by walking thither barefoot. To fulfil this penance he ſent his boat on ſhore with one half of the company, with orders to return immediately, that the reſt might ſucceed them in the ſame kind of devotion; but the firſt company had no ſooner undreſt themſelves and began their proceſſion, than they were attacked and made priſoners by the governor, who lay in ambuſh with ſome of his people for that purpoſe.

Columbus, having in vain waited from daybreak until noon for the return of the boat, began to ſuſpect foul play, and not being able to diſcover the hermitage, he ſailed round a point, by which means he obtained a full view of it, and perceiving ſeveral Portugueſe on horſeback alight and enter his boat, as he imagined, to attack the veſſel, he ordered the ſailors to be upon their guard.—He hoped that the commander of the men would come on board, in which caſe he reſolved to detain him as an hoſtage; but the Portugueſe not daring to advance beyond a certain diſtance, he demanded the reaſon of their committing ſuch an outrage

upon his men who had gone on ſhore upon the faith of a ſafe conduct, and let them know that the king of Portugal would certainly be offended at this act of hoſtility committed againſt the ſubjects of their Catholic majeſties with whom he was in alliance. To this the Portugueſe captain anſwered, that what they had done was by the king's expreſs orders, which giving Columbus reaſon to imagine that there was a breach between the two crowns, and calling all his people to bear witneſs to what they heard, he again directed his diſcourſe to the Portugueſe, and ſwore that he would never quit his ſhip until he had ſeized a hundred Portugueſe, and deſtroyed the whole iſland.

He now returned to the port he had left, but the next day the wind increaſing he loſt his anchors, and was obliged to ſtand out to ſea towards the iſland of St. Michael, though not without being expoſed to great danger from his having only three able ſeamen on board, the reſt being landmen, Indians, and boys. The weather being mild, the next day he endeavoured to recover the iſland of St. Mary, which he reached on the 21ſt, and ſoon after his arrival, a boat was ſent to him with five men and a notary, who, in the governor's name deſired to know whence the ſhip came, and whether he had really the king of Spain's commiſſion. Being ſatisfied in theſe particulars, they returned and cauſed the Spaniards to be releaſed; for the king of Portugal had ſent orders to all his governers to ſecure the admiral's perſon; but as this ſcheme did not ſucceed, on account of Columbus's ſtaying on board, it was thought proper to diſmiſs the priſoners. The admiral, having recovered his men, departed from the iſland of St. Mary on the 24th of February, with a very favourable wind; but on the 3d of March he was expoſed to another tempeſt, during which his ſails

were ſplit, and he narrowly eſcaped being wrecked on the rock of Liſbon, which they accidentally diſcovered at midnight; but having weathered it with great difficulty, he was the next day obliged to come to an anchor in the river Tagus, on which he immediately ſent an expreſs by land to their Catholic majeſties with the news of his arrival, and another to the king of Portugal, to deſire leave to caſt anchor before the city, as he did not think himſelf ſafe in his preſent ſtation.

On the 5th of March the maſter of a guard ſhip, with a boat filled with armed men, came up to Columbus, and ordered him to give an account of himſelf to the king's officers, as was cuſtomary with all the veſſels that entered the river. To this Columbus replied, that he was the king of Spain's admiral, and would not degrade himſelf ſo far as to ſend the moſt inconſiderable perſon on board his ſhip on ſuch an errand. The Portugueſe finding him reſolute, deſired to ſee the king's letter, which being complied with, they returned to their ſhip, and made a proper report to Alvaro d' Acunha, who ſoon after came on board Columbus's ſhip, attended with fifes, drums, and trumpets, and congratulated him on his return with many expreſſions of friendſhip. The nature of Columbus's voyage was no ſooner known at Liſbon than the people were filled with the utmoſt curioſity to ſee the Indians, and to learn the particulars of his amazing diſcovery; the whole river was therefore ſeen covered with boats filled with people, ſome of whom praiſed God for Columbus's ſucceſs, while others lamented the hard fate of their nation, which had loſt ſuch a prize through the incredulity or avarice of their king.

His majeſty having received the admiral's letter, gave orders for his being preſented with all kinds of refreſhments and neceſſaries gratis, and at the

ſame time wrote to him to congratulate him upon his happy return, and to let him know that he deſired to ſee him before he left his dominions.—Columbus at firſt doubted whether he ought to accept this invitation; but conſidering that Spain and Portugal were at peace, and that he had been already treated by the king with uncommon reſpect, he reſolved to wait on his Portugueſe majeſty, who then reſided at Val Paraiſo, a place nine leagues from Liſbon; he therefore ſet out on Saturday the 9th of March when the king ordered his whole court to go out and meet him, and Columbus being conducted into the royal preſence, his majeſty inſiſted on his putting on his cap, and being ſeated in his preſence, he heard with ſeeming pleaſure the particulars of the voyage, and offered to ſupply him with every thing he deſired; yet obſerved, that as Columbus was before in his ſervice, the conqueſt of right belonged to him; but the admiral modeſtly gave his reaſons for being of a contrary opinion: to which the king replied that "it was very well, and he did not doubt but that juſtice would be done."

Columbus having ſtaid all Sunday and part of Monday, took his leave, after his majeſty had in vain attempted, by very conſiderable offers, to reengage him in his ſervice. On his return, he was attended by many perſons of rank, and paſſing by a monaſtry in which was the Queen, her majeſty deſired to ſee him, and received his viſit in a reſpectful manner. The ſame night a gentleman arrived from the king to inform him, that if he choſe to go to Caſtile by land, he would accompany him, and provide him with accommodations on the road, as far as the frontiers of Portugal. This offer he declined with ſuitable acknowledgments, and ſetting ſail on Wedneſday the 13th of March, 1493, arrived on the Friday following at Saltes, and

came to an anchor in the port of Palos, whence he had departed on the 3d of Auguſt in the preceding year.

Columbus was received on his landing by all the people in proceſſion, giving thanks to God for his ſucceſs, which it was hoped would greatly redound to the ſpreading of Chriſtianity, and the advantage of their Catholic majeſties. Pinzon had already arrived in Galicia, and had reſolved to carry in perſon the agreeable news of the diſcovery to court, when he received orders which forbade his coming without the admiral under whoſe command he had been ſent on the expedition; and this mortifying diſappointment made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he immediately fell ſick, and returning to the place of his birth, he in a few days after died of grief and vexation.

In the mean time Columbus ſet out for Seville on his way to Barcelona, where their majeſties then reſided, and the roads were crouded with people of all ranks, who flocked to ſee him and the Indians in his train. He arrived at Barcelona about the middle of April, and was received by the whole court and city in the moſt ſolemn manner. The ſtreets could not contain the multitudes that preſſed to ſee him, with the Indians and curioſities he brought which were carried uncovered. Their majeſties to do him honour, ordered the royal throne to be placed in public, on which they ſeated themſelves with prince John under a canopy of cloth of gold. The admiral was introduced by ſeveral gentlemen, and on his approaching the throne, the king roſe up and gave him his hand to kiſs, when Columbus kneeling, his majeſty deſired him to riſe, ordered a chair to be brought him, and made him ſit by his ſide. Columbus then gave an account of his voyage, his diſcoveries, and his hopes of finding ſtill more extenſive and im-

portant countries; ſhewed them the Indians, as they appeared in their native countries, and gave them a ſpecimen of every thing he had brought from the new world. When he had done ſpeaking, their majeſties roſe, and kneeling down with their hands lifted up, and with tears in their eyes, returned thanks to God, which was immediately followed by the choriſters of the chapel ſinging Te Deum.

In ſhort, Columbus was treated as a grandee of the firſt rank who had performed the moſt important ſervices for his country, and when the king rode about Barcelona, he would have him conſtantly by his ſide; an honour which had been conferred upon none but princes of the blood. He was alſo gratified with new patents, which confirmed and enlarged the privileges he had before obtained. The more his diſcoveries were canvaſſed by the council the more important they appeared, and therefore their Catholic majeſties not only agreed that he ſhould continue them, but diſpatched an ambaſſador to Pope Alexander VI. to deſire him to exert his apoſtolic authority in their favour, and to grant them an excluſive title to the countries that had been, or ſhould be diſcovered. The Pope complied with this requeſt, and drawing a line from pole to pole, at the diſtance of one hundred leagues weſtward from the Azores, or from the Cape de Verd Iſlands, beſtowed on their Catholic majeſties the dominions of all ſovereigns and ſtates in that extenſive part of the globe.

THE

SECOND VOYAGE

OF

Chriſtopher Columbus to America.

CHAPTER II.

Columbus's Second Voyage. He ſails with a more numerous fleet, arrives at the Carribbee-Iſlands, and diſcovers Dominica, Marigalante, and Gaudalupe, in which laſt place he lands, and endeavours, in vain, to trade with the natives. He thence proceeds to ſeveral other iſlands, the moſt remarkable of which are, Montſerrat and St. John's, and arriving at Hiſpaniola, finds the colony ruined, and the Spaniards deſtroyed by their own folly; upon which he reſtores things to a good ſituation, quells a mutiny, and having taken the moſt prudent meaſures, ſets ſail upon other diſcoveries, lands at Jamaica; meets with a multitude of Iſlands to which he gives the name of the Queen's Garden; ſteers along the coaſt of Cuba, and after ſuffering many difficulties, returns to Hiſpaniola, where he finds every thing in great confuſion; but having made new regulations for the ſecurity of the ſettlement, he ſails for Spain.

IN a little time ſuch meaſures were taken for Columbus's ſecond expedition, that ſeventeen veſſels were fitted out for farther diſcoveries, and the ſettlement of colonies. The thirſt of gold, and the ſucceſs of the firſt voyage drew together ſuch a multitude of volunteers, that a great number was rejected, the admiral reſolving to take no more than fifteen hundred perſons, amongſt whom there were many artificers and labourers.

Columbus having provided all kinds of utenſils, with a large ſtock of trifles moſt agreeable to the Indians, and having taken on board cows, horſes, aſſes and other animals for breeding in the new plantations, with the ſeeds of plants, trees and all kinds of grain, &c, he ſailed from the road of Cadiz on the 25th of September, 1493, and ſtood ſouth weſt for the Canary Iſlands. He arrived at the Grand Canaria on the 2d of October, and on the 5th anchored at Gomera, where he took in water, wood, and cattle, and in particular eight ſows, from which were produced all the ſwine now in the Weſt-Indies.*

On the 7th he continued his voyage for the Indies after his having delivered his orders ſealed up, which were not to be opened unleſs the fleet ſhould be ſeparated by ſtreſs of weather: They now ran 400 leagues weſt of the Canaries without meeting with any of thoſe weeds which they had ſeen in their firſt voyage.

On the 2d of November, Columbus perceiving a great alteration in the winds, and there falling a violent ſhower of rain, concluded that he was ſeven leagues to the weſtward of a high mountainous iſland which he named Dominica, from its being diſcovered on a Sunday. Three other iſlands were diſcovered much about the ſame time, when they returned thanks to God for their wonderful ſucceſs, in having ſailed near 800 leagues in the ſpace of twenty days. The admiral finding no convenient place for anchoring on the eaſt ſide of Dominica, ſtood over to another iſland which he called Marigalante, after his own ſhip, and having landed, he with the uſual ſolemnity, took poſſeſ-

* They received the name of Weſt-Indies from Columbus's ſailing to them by the weſt, and expecting to find the ſpices at that time brought from the eaſt by the way of the Red-Sea.

ſion of it for their Catholic majeſties, as he had before done with reſpect to all the other iſlands he had diſcovered.

On the 4th of November, he ſailed to another conſiderable iſland, which he named St. Mary of Guadalupe, (one of the largeſt of the Caribbee Iſlands) in conſequence of a promiſe he had made to the friars belonging to a convent of that name. He there, at two leagues diſtance, perceived a very high rock which terminated in a point, whence guſhed a large torrent of water, which fell with a prodigious noiſe. Here he landed ſome men who went to a town, which at their approach was abandoned by all the inhabitants except ſome of the children, to whoſe arms the Spaniards tied a few baubles as a mark of friendſhip. They here found geeſe like thoſe of Europe, a great number of large parrots, and other birds, pompions, ananas, or pine-apples, of exquiſite taſte and flavour: they alſo found bows and arrows, cotton, and ſeveral other things, which they left behind them in order to give the owners a good opinion of their morals.

The next day the admiral ſent two boats on ſhore, with orders, if poſſible, to take a few of the natives, from whom he might obtain ſome important information; and theſe returned with two young men, who by their ſigns let him know that they were born in another iſland, and were taken priſoners by thoſe of Guadalupe, who were called Caribbees. The boats again going on ſhore for ſome of the men they had left, found ſix women who had fled to them, and deſired to be carried on board, which being done, the admiral gave them bells and beads, and then diſmiſſed them, though by their ſigns they ſhewed an ardent deſire to ſtay; but they were no ſooner landed than the Caribbees robbed them of their ornaments in the very ſight

of the Spaniards. The next time the boat's crew landed, theſe poor creatures leapt into the boat, and by the moſt expreſſive geſtures implored protection from the cruelty of the iſlanders, who, they ſignified, had kept their huſbands in ſlavery.—This information occaſioned their being brought to the admiral, whom they gave to underſtand, that towards the ſouth, there were many iſlands and a large continent. Columbus would have immediately left Guadalupe, had he not been informed, that the captain of one of his ſhips had, without his permiſſion, landed with eight men before it was light, and was not yet returned; he therefore ſent ſeveral of his people on ſhore with trumpets and muſquets, the noiſe of which might be heard through the woods; and this ſearch proving fruitleſs, he ſent another detachment of forty men, commanded by a captain, with orders to proceed through the country, and make obſervations on its productions. They found abundance of cotton, ſome trees which in taſte and ſmell reſembled cinnamon, and alſo frankincenſe, ginger, ſanders, aloes, and maſtic. They likewiſe ſaw nightingales, daws, partridges, geeſe, herons, kites, and falcons. While they were thus employed, the ſtragglers returned of their own accord, when Columbus ordered their captain to be put in irons, and puniſhed the reſt by ſhortening their allowance of proviſions. The admiral himſelf then landing, found great quantities of cotton, ſpun and unſpun, with many human ſkulls and bones hung up in baſkets; and obſerved that the natives were better accommodated with lodging, proviſions, and other neceſſaries, than thoſe of the other iſlands he had before diſcovered.

On the 10th of November, the admiral weighed anchor, and ſailing with his whole fleet towards the north-weſt in ſearch of Hiſpaniola, paſſed an

iſland, to which, on account of its height he called Montſerat, and having paſſed by St. Mary Redonda, and St. Maria la Antigua, he diſcoverd ſeveral other iſlands, near one of which he caſt anchor, and called it St. Martin. His people here ſeized four men and three children, but as the boat was putting off with them from ſhore, they met with a canoe in which were four men and one woman, who finding it impoſſible for them to eſcape, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, when the woman ſhot an arrow with ſuch force and dexterity, that it paſſed through a ſtrong target; but the Spaniards endeavouring to board them, overſet the canoe, on which the Indians betook themſelves to ſwimming, and one of them uſed his bow and arrow in the water with the ſame dexterity as if he had been on dry land.

The admiral again ſetting ſail continued his courſe weſt north-weſt, leaving to the northward above fifty iſlands, the largeſt of which he called St. Urſula, and the others the Eleven Thouſand Virgins. He then came to an iſland to which he gave the name of St. John Baptiſt, and having anchored in a bay on the weſt ſide of it, his men caught ſeveral kinds of fiſh, as ſkate, ſoles, pilchards and ſhads; and alſo ſaw falcons, and ſome ſhrubs, reſembling wild vines. Some of the men afterwards landed, when they perceived ſeveral houſes with a ſquare in their front, from which was a ſpacious road down to the ſea, flanked on both ſides with towers made of cane, the tops of which were curiouſly interwoven with greens, and at the end of the road next the ſea, was raiſed a lofty gallery or balcony capable of containing ten or twelve perſons.

On the 21ſt, the admiral arrived in the bay of Samana, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, and immediately ſent on ſhore one of the Indians, a na-

tive of that part of the country, whom he had carried into Spain, and who, being converted to the Chriſtian faith, undertook for the ſubmiſſion of all his countrymen.

The admiral, continuing his voyage to the town of the Nativity, was viſited at Cape Angel by ſome Indians, who came on board to barter their commodities for thoſe of the Chriſtians: and coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Chriſto, ſome of his people were ſent on ſhore in a boat, when to their great ſurpriſe, they ſaw at a ſmall diſtance, the bodies of two men with a rope about their necks made of a kind of broom, and their arms extended upon a piece of wood in the form of a croſs; but though they could not diſcern whether they were Europeans or Indians, they conſidered this as an ill omen.

The next day, which was the 26th, the admiral ſent ſeveral perſons on ſhore in different places, when many of the Indians went to them with great confidence and appearance of friendſhip, and pronounced ſeveral Spaniſh words they had learnt from the ſettlers, which eaſed the admiral of the apprehenſions he had begun to conceive, judging that they would not have behaved with ſuch freedom and unconcern, had they been conſcious of their having injured the men he had left behind him; but the next day put an end to his doubts; for on his anchoring near the town of the Nativity, ſome Indians in a canoe came to the fleet enquiring for the admiral, but refuſed to come on board until they ſaw him. From them he learnt that ſome of the Chriſtians, left there, died of diſtempers, and the reſt were ſeparated and gone to other countries; but though Columbus ſuſpected foul play, he for the preſent concealed his ſuſpicions, and the ſame evening diſmiſſed the meſſengers with a preſent of baubles made of tin, and

other trifles for the Cacique Guacanagari, and themſelves.

The next morning Columbus landed, when, to his great concern, he ſaw nothing but ruin and deſolation; the houſes and fort were burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Chriſtians but a few ragged clothes, and things of no value. As he had ordered the Spaniards, at his leaving them, if any thing happened, to throw the gold into a well he had made in the fort, he ordered that well to be cleanſed; but no gold was to be found there: he ſoon after found the bodies of eleven Spaniards who ſeemed to have been dead about a month.—However, while he was ruminating on this event with a mind filled with reſentment and ſorrow, he was viſited by the Cacique Guacanagari's brother, who came attended by ſome Indians, who learned to talk a little Spaniſh, and by whom he was informed that he had ſcarce ſet ſail, when thoſe he had left behind began to quarrel amongſt themſelves, every man endeavouring to amaſs all the gold he could obtain, and to take as many wives from the natives as his unbounded appetite demanded. That Eſcovedo and Peter Gatieres, having killed one of the men named James, had, with nine others, retired with their women to Caunabo, a Cacique, who was lord of the mines, and who put them all to death; after which, that Cacique came, attended by a great number of men, to deſtroy the town, when there were only James de Arana and ten of his men, who had remained with him to guard the fort, the reſt having diſperſed themſelves about the iſland. Caunabo, who came upon them in the night, inſtantly ſet fire to the houſes where theſe eleven Spaniards lived with their women; on which they fled into the ſea, where eight of them periſhed, and the other three were ſlain on ſhore, while Guacana-

gari endeavoured to revenge the Spaniards by making war on Caunabo; but was put to flight, after his having received a dangerous wound, which confined him to his houſe, and prevented his waiting on the admiral.

This account perfectly agreed with the intelligence received from ſome Spaniards who had been ſent up the country, and had viſited the wounded Cacique at his own houſe, who greatly deſired to ſee Columbus. The next day therefore the admiral paid him a viſit, and was received with the utmoſt cordiality and concern for what had happened. Guacanagari repeated the melancholy ſtory, with all the marks of unfeigned ſorrow, and at the ſame time ſhewed his own wound, and thoſe of his men, which they had received in defence of the Chriſtians, and which plainly appeared to have been made with wooden ſwords and arrows pointed with fiſh bones, and not with any Europern weapons. The compliment of condolence being paſſed, the Cacique preſented the admiral with eight ſtrings of ſmall beads, compoſed of red, green, and white ſtones, a ſtring of gold beads, a crown of the ſame metal, and three ſmall calabaſhes full of gold duſt, which weighed about thirty two ounces. In return for theſe valuable preſents, the admiral gave him a variety of baubles, which might be worth about three reals, or twenty-pence. Though the Cacique was extremely ill, he inſiſted on attending his gueſt to the fleet, where he was courteouſly entertained, and much pleaſed at the ſight of the horſes, of which the Spaniards had before given him an account. The Cacique was afterwards inſtructed in the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion, which he was at firſt unwilling to embrace.

Columbus being diſguſted at a ſpot which had been the ſcene of ſo many diſaſters, and knowing

that there were better and more commodious places in the iſland, for a ſettlement, ſailed on the 7th of December with the whole fleet to the eaſtward, and caſt anchor before an Indian town where he reſolved to plant a colony. With this view the people deſigned for ſettlers were landed, with proviſions and proper utenſils, in a plain where he built a town, to which he gave the name of Iſabella, in honour of the Queen. It was conveniently ſituated near a rock where a fort might be erected; the harbour was ſpacious, and at the diſtance of a bow-ſhot ran an excellent river, from whence canals might be eaſily cut through the midſt of the place, and beyond it lay an open plain, from which the Indians ſaid, the mines of Cebao were not far diſtant.

From the 11th of December to the 12th of March in the following year 1494, Columbus was employed in completing this new ſettlement, and having at length regulated the affairs of the town, he diſpatched Alonzo de Hojeda, with fifteen men, in ſearch of the gold mines, and on the 2d of February, ſent twelve of his ſhips back to Caſtile, with a letter to their Catholic majeſties, in which he gave a very particular account of whatever had happened ſince his arrival in the Weſt-Indies.

Hojeda ſoon after returned from this expedition, and informed the admiral that on the ſecond day after he ſet out from Iſabella, he lay at the paſs of an almoſt inacceſſible mountain, and afterwards at the diſtance of every league, found Caciques, by whom he was hoſpitably entertained; but continuing his journey, he arrived on the ſixth day at the place called the Mines of Cebao, where he ſaw the Indians picking up gold out of a ſmall river, as they did from many others in the ſame province. This information was highly agree-

able to the admiral, who was juſt recovered from a fit of ſickneſs occaſioned by fatigue; and on the 12th of March, having cauſed all the ammunition belonging to the other ſhips to be put on board his own, he left a ſtrong guard in the two ſhips, and three caravels, and ſet out from Iſabella for Cebao, attended by all the reſt of his people, ſome of whom were on horſeback, and others on foot.

The admiral took this precaution of ſecuring the ſhips, in conſequence of his having detected a conſpiracy headed by one Bernardo de Piſa, who had embarked from Spain in quality of comptroller to their Catholic majeſties. This perſon had taken the opportunity of the admiral's illneſs to tamper with ſome of the men, who being diſappointed of the gold they expected to find without the leaſt trouble, and diſatisfied with the regulations of the new ſettlements, readily joined him in the deſign of revolting from the admiral, and ſeizing the ſhips in order to return to Spain; but this mutiny being diſcovered, the admiral cauſed the ringleader to be ſecured, until he could have an opportunity of ſending him home to take his trial.

Columbus, in order to fill the Indians with the greater awe and reſpect, made his men march in regular order through the villages, with trumpets ſounding, and colours flying, and alſo carried with him every thing neceſſary for building a fort at Cabao. He marched along the banks of the river which runs by Iſabella, and croſſing another river, lay in a pleaſant plain which extended to the foot of a high and craggy rock, which formed a paſs. The next day he entered a ſpacious plain, in which he travelled five leagues, and ſpent the night near a broad river, which the men croſſed on floats and in canoes. This, which he called the river of

Canes, falls into the ſea at Monte Chriſto. In his march he paſſed by many Indian towns, compoſed of round thatched houſes, the doors of which were ſo low that no perſon could enter them without ſtooping down. The inhabitants ſeemed to have very little notion of private property; for the Indians who attended the Spaniards from Iſabella, freely entered the houſes and took what they liked beſt, without giving the leaſt offence to the former poſſeſſors, while the latter attempted to take what they liked from the Spaniards, and ſeemed ſurpriſed at meeting with a repulſe. The way was hitherto agreeably diverſified with mountains covered with wild vines, and other fruit-trees of various ſorts.

On the 14th of March, Columbus ſet forwards from the River of Canes, and at the diſtance of a league and a half, arrived at the banks of another river, which he named the Golden River, from their gathering here ſome grains of that metal. Having paſſed it with ſome difficulty, he proceeded to a large town, where he found that many of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, and the reſt barred their doors againſt him with canes; and having paſſed by another river, and ſeveral towns which were barricaded againſt him in the ſame manner, he entered the province of Cebao, which though rough and ſtony, yielded plenty of graſs, and is watered by ſeveral rivers which abound with gold waſhed down from the mountains; but though this is a very large province, it has few or no trees except ſome pine and palm-trees, which grow on the banks of the rivers.

In this country he cauſed a fort to be erected in a very ſtrong, though pleaſant ſituation, to command the country about the mines, and protect the Spaniſh adventurers. This fort, which was built of timber and clay, was of ſufficient ſtrength

to withſtand the attack of any number of Indians, and having placed a garriſon in it of ſixty men, among whom were workmen of ſeveral ſorts, to finiſh and repair the works, he ſet out on his return, and was met by conſiderable numbers of the natives, who came to ſell their proviſions, which chiefly conſiſted of a kind of bread and garlick.

On the 29th of March he arrived at his new colony of Iſabella, where he found melons already fit to eat, though the ſeed had not been above two months in the ground; and a wild vine of that country being pruned, produced large and excellent grapes; ſome wheat which had been ſown in the latter end of January, already produced ears fit to gather; vetches produced a ripe crop of a much larger ſort than thoſe they had ſown, within twenty-five days; ſugar-canes, and the ſtones of fruit ſprouted out in ſeven days; vine-branches produced leaves in the ſame time, and yielded green grapes in 25 days: Columbus had therefore great reaſon to be pleaſed with the ſoil and climate, and particularly with the water, which was extremely pure, cool, and palatable.

On the firſt of April, a meſſenger arrived at Iſabella from the new fort, to which he had given the name of the Caſtle of St. Thomas, with advice that the Cacique Caunabo was preparing to attack it. Columbus was but little concerned at this news, as he knew that he had nothing to apprehend from the natives, who were under great apprehenſions at the ſight of his horſes; yet as he intended to go to ſea with three caravals, in order to diſcover the continent, he thought it neceſſary to leave every thing in tranquility behind him, and therefore ſent a reinforcement to the fort, of ſeventy men, part of whom were to be employed in making the road more paſſable paſſable, and in ſearching for the fords of the rivers. In the mean

time he completed his town, which was laid out in regular ſtreets, with a convenient market-place; ſupplied it with river-water by a canal, and erected a water-mill for grinding wheat; but as his people were not accuſtomed to the food of the natives, and proviſions began to fail, he reſolved to ſend the ſuperfluous mouths to Spain. This ſtep he thought himſelf obliged to take, from his finding that the climate diſagreed with many of his people who were in a ſickly and languiſhing condition. As for thoſe who enjoyed health, and were not abſolutely neceſſary in the town, they were ſent to traverſe the iſland, in order to obſerve its ſituation, and accuſtom themſelves to the Indian diet.—Theſe were commanded by Hojeda, who had orders to march to Cebao, and deliver up the command of theſe men to Peter Margarite, who was to conduct them round the iſland, while the former commanded the fort of St. Thomas.

On the 29th of April, Hojeda with his party, which conſiſted of above four hundred men, left Iſabella, and having croſſed the river del Oro, or the Gold River, apprehended a Cacique and his brother whom he ſent in irons to the admiral. This Cacique had accommodated three Spaniards with five Indians to carry their clothes over a river, but being in the middle they turned back, and ran away with the baggage, while the Cacique, inſtead of puniſhing them, converted what they had taken to his own uſe. Another Cacique, who dwelt beyond the river, relying on the ſervice he had done to the Chriſtians, went with the priſoners to Iſabella, to intercede in their behalf. Columbus entertained him very kindly; but, to heighten the favour he intended to grant, ordered the Cacique and his brother to be put to death, in the market-place; at which their honeſt friend ſhed a flood of tears, and earneſtly begged that their lives might

be ſpared; whereupon the admiral inſtantly forgave them. Theſe were no ſooner releaſed, than a man on horſeback, who had juſt arrived from fort St. Thomas, told the admiral, that in his way through the town belonging to the Cacique who had been his priſoner, he alone had reſcued four Spaniards whom the Indians had taken by way of repriſal, and chaſed above four hundred perſons, who fled at the ſight of his horſe.

The admiral being now reſolved to diſcover the continent, appointed a council to govern the iſland in his abſence,* conſiſting of his brother Diego, who was preſent, and five other perſons. He then ſailed with three ſhips to Cuba, and running along the ſouth ſide of that iſland, entered a large bay, which he called Puerto Grande, from its extent and depth of water. While he continued his courſe along the coaſt, a great number of Indians came on board in their canoes with preſents of bread, water, and fiſh; in return for which he gave them a few bells, beads, and other trifles.

* It is worthy of remark, that while Columbus was thus ſettling the affairs of Hiſpaniola, John Cabot, (a citizen of Venice, who lived at Briſtol) and his ſon Sebaſtian, ſailed from the laſt mentioned city on diſcoveries; ſaw the continent of Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of Prime Viſta, or Firſt-ſeen; and on the 24th of June, the ſame year, 1494, went on ſhore on an Iſland, which they called St. John's, from its being diſcovered on St. John's day. John Cabot, on his return to England, reported, that this iſland was barren; but that the ſea near the coaſt abounded with fiſh; that the people wore bear-ſkin clothes, and were armed with bows, arrows, pikes, wooden clubs, darts and ſlings; and upon this report he obtained a patent for making diſcoveries; but this gentleman dying ſoon after, king Henry VII. granted a new patent to his ſon Sebaſtian, who ſet ſail on the 4th of May, 1497, before Columbus began his third voyage. Sebaſtian ſailed as far as 60 d. 30 m. north latitude; proceeding from thence into the ſouth latitude, to 56 deg. and from thence ran down to 38 deg. along the coaſt of the continent of America, which, he expreſsly ſays, was afterwards called Florida, where proviſions growing ſhort, he ſailed back, touched at Newfoundland, and returned to England.

On the 5th of May he reached Jamaica, where he had been told there was great plenty of gold. On his caſting anchor at that iſland, he thought it the moſt beautiful of any he had yet ſeen, and a ſurpriſing multitude of the natives came in canoes of different ſizes to exchange proviſions for toys. The next day he coaſted along the iſland; but ſending out his boat to ſound the mouths of the harbours, they were ſoon ſurrounded with canoes filled with armed men, who ſeemed reſolved on beginning hoſtilities. However, the Spaniards being determined to enter Puerto Bueno, ſaluted them with ſuch a flight of arrows, that ſeveral of them being wounded, the reſt inſtantly retired.—In that port the admiral repaired his ſhips, and afterwards ſailed back to Cuba, with a firm reſolution to know whether it was an iſland or a continent. The ſame day a young Indian of Jamaica, coming on board, begged to accompany Columbus to Spain, and though many of his kindred and other perſons intreated him with tears in their eyes to return, he perſiſted in his reſolution, and the admiral gave orders that he ſhould be treated with the utmoſt civility.

On the 15th he reached the point of Cuba, which he named Cabo de Santa Cruz, or Cape Holy Croſs; but as he coaſted along, was overtaken by a terrible ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which was the more dangerous as he was entangled amongſt the currents and flats, which hindered him from taking in his ſails. He found the ſea to the north and north-eaſt of that iſland covered with a prodigious number of ſmall, low, and ſandy iſlands, ſome of which ſcarcely appeared above the ſurface of the water, and conſequently rendered the navigation very hazardous. It is true, the nearer they ſailed to Cuba, the higher and pleaſanter theſe iſlands appeared, and it being

a matter of difficulty, and of no advantage to give a name to each of them, he ſtiled them all in general the Queen's Garden. The next day theſe iſlands ſeemed to multiply on all hands, ſo that his men reckoned 160 of them, parted from each other by navigable channels, through which the ſhips ſailed. In ſome of them they ſaw a great number of cranes that were as red as ſcarlet; abundance of turtles and their eggs, and an infinite number of ſmall ſinging birds; and, what appeared ſtill more extraordinary, the air was as ſweet, as if it had been impregnated with the richeſt perfumes. In one of the above channels, they found a canoe with fiſhermen, who ſeeing the boat approach, they without the leaſt concern, made ſigns to the Spaniards to keep off until they had done fiſhing; and as their manner of catching fiſh appeared very ſurpriſing, they were willing to comply. The man had tied ſome ſmall fiſhes, called reves, by the tail, which meeting with another fiſh, fixed themſelves to it by the ſucker on the top of the head, when the fiſhermen drew them up together. Upon this occaſion they caught a ſea turtle, to whoſe neck the reve or ſucking fiſh had faſtened itſelf; and in this manner they will ſometimes adhere to ſharks of the largeſt ſize. The Indians in the canoe having taken a turtle, went on board to the admiral, and made him a preſent of all the fiſh they had caught; for which he gratified them with a few baubles.

On the 22d of May, Columbus landed in an iſland ſomewhat bigger than the reſt, which he called St. Mary's; but entering a town, all the inhabitants fled, when the Spaniards found nothing but fiſh in their houſes, which was all the food thoſe people lived upon, and ſome dogs reſembling maſtiffs, that lived on the ſame food. He then directed his courſe north-eaſt, where he was ſtill

bewildered by an aſtoniſhing number of flats and iſlands; and, notwithſtanding all his precautions in ſounding and keeping men upon the round top to look out, the ſhip was often aground, and this obliged him to relinquiſh his deſign of ſailing eaſt about, before he returned to Spain.

Being now in great want of water, he again touched at Cuba, when one of his ſailors mounting a tree with a croſs bow, to kill ſome bird or beaſt, diſcovered thirty people armed with ſpears and ſtaves, and among them a perſon dreſſed in a white veſt which hung down to his knees, carried by two men in long garments that reached to their feet, all three being as white as the Spaniards; but ſeeing ſo many of their attendants he was terrified, and calling to his companions, the Indians ran away without looking back. The next day the admiral ſent ſome people on ſhore to diſcover the truth of this report; but the woods and marſhes were ſo impaſſable, that after having travelled about a league from the ſhore, they were obliged to return.

Having ſailed about ten leagues to the weſtward, they obſerved houſes on the ſhore, from whence the natives came in canoes with food and water, for which they were well paid. The admiral however cauſed one of the Indians to be detained; but told him and the reſt, by his interpreter, that he would let him go as ſoon as he had given him proper directions for his voyage, and ſome account of the country. The Indian ſatisfied with this promiſe, let him know, that Cuba was an iſland; and that the coaſt was very low and ſurrounded with ſmall iſlands.

The next day, the admiral being incloſed between two iſlands, was obliged to tow the ſhips over a flat, where there was but very little water; when bearing up to the coaſt of Cuba, the Spa-

niards ſaw very large turtle in ſuch numbers that they covered the ſea. The next morning the ſun was darkened by a multitude of ſea-crows which flew towards the ſhore and lighted upon it; there alſo appeared abundance of pigeons and other birds; and the next day there came ſuch a ſwarm of butterflies, that they darkened the air from morning till night, when they were carried away by a great ſhower of rain.

On the 13th, Columbus perceiving that the coaſt of Cuba ran far weſt, and that there would be the greateſt difficulty in ſailing that way, reſolved to return to the town he had began to build at Hiſpaniola, but being in want of wood and water, he anchored at Evangeliſta, an iſland of about thirty leagues in compaſs, and having provided the ſhips with what they wanted, directed his courſe to the ſouth; but after having ſailed a few leagues through a channel which ſeemed to be the cleareſt, found himſelf embayed, and being in a manner deſtitute of proviſions, was under a great conſternation. However, for fear of diſcouraging his men, he appeared as cheerful as poſſible, and having returned as he entered, ſailed towards ſome iſlands to the north-weſt, near which the ſea ſeemed to be of different colours, owing in all probability to the ſhallow water, and the nature of the bottom ſeen through it. Soon after his ſhip ran aground ſo faſt that ſhe could not be got off without great difficulty and danger; but however, this was at laſt effected, and after many difficulties, he eſcaped from thoſe ſhoals and iſlands, and arrived again at Cuba.

On the 7th of July, landing to hear maſs, he was viſited by an old Cacique, who appeared very attentive, and afterwards ſignified his belief of the exiſtence of a ſupreme being, who rewards virtue and puniſhes vice in a future ſtate.

On the 16th of July, as Columbus was ſteering towards Cape Cruz, in the iſland of Cuba, he was ſurprized with ſuch a violent ſtorm, that the ſhips were almoſt overſet before the ſails could be furled, and they ſhipped ſo much water, that the men could ſcarce keep them clear by pumping; for his men were rendered extremely weak by fatigue and want of proviſions, their allowance being only a pound of biſcuit, and half a pint a wine a day, unleſs they happened to catch fiſh. This allowance the admiral himſelf did not exceed. However, at his arrival at Cape Cruz, he was civilly entertained by the Indians, who ſupplied him with bread of grated roots, with plenty of fiſh, and great quantities of delicious fruit.

Columbus now ſtood over to Jamaica, and coaſting along to the weſtward, found that part of the iſland full of excellent harbours, and abounding with inhabitants. He then made the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, and having loſt ſight of the other two ſhips that were under his command, caſt anchor at a ſmall iſland, where his men killed eight ſeals that lay aſleep on the ſhore, and took great numbers of pigeons and other birds, which being unaccuſtomed to the cruelty of the human ſpecies, ſtood ſtill while they were knocked down with ſtaves.

Six days after the admiral, being joined by the other ſhips that were miſſing, proceeded on his voyage and coaſted along Hiſpaniola, which exhibited the proſpect of a delightful plain, extending a mile from the ſea, and ſo populous, that for a league together, it ſeemed one continued town, in the neighbourhood of which was a lake five leagues in length. Here the natives came on board in canoes, and told the admiral, that they had been viſited by ſome Spaniards from Iſabella, where all was well; when being greatly pleaſed

with this information, he immediately diſpatched nine men acroſs the iſland with the news of his ſafe return, while he and his ſhip continued ſailing along the coaſt to the eaſtward. In this courſe he ſent the boats aſhore for water, near to a great town, from which the Indians came to oppoſe their landing with boats and poiſoned arrows, and produced ſome ropes with which they threatened to bind the Chriſtians. But as ſoon as the boats reached the ſhore, they civilly laid down their arms, aſked for the admiral, and carried him provifions. Near this place they ſaw a large fiſh of the ſize of a middling whale. It bore its head, which was of the ſize of a pipe or butt above the water; and had a long tail, like that of a tunny fiſh, and two vaſt fins on the ſides. From this, and other concurring circumſtances, the admiral prognoſticated a change of weather, and ſeeking ſome place where he might ride ſecure, caſt anchor under a little iſland, called by the Spaniards, Saona. He then obſerved an eclipſe of the moon, which was followed by a tempeſt that laſted ſeveral days, during which he was under the greateſt apprehenſions on account of the other veſſels which could not get in. However, they weathered the ſtorm, and joined the admiral, who continued his voyage, but was ſoon after ſeized with a lethargy which deprived him of his ſenſes and memory. On this account it was agreed to ſail directly to Iſabella, where they arrived on the 29th of September. The admiral, on his landing, ſoon recovered his health, though his weakneſs laſted ſeveral months.

Columbus, on his arrival, found his brother Bartholomew at Iſabella, and perceived that the natives had taken up arms againſt the Spaniards. The admiral's joy was extreme at the ſight of Bartholomew, who returning to Spain from the

court of England, where all his demands were granted, had been informed of his brother Chriſtopher's ſucceſs, by Charles, king of France, who preſented him with one hundred crowns to defray the expence of his journey. Upon this he made all the haſte he could to overtake the admiral in Spain; but before his arrival at Seville, Chriſtopher had ſailed on his ſecond voyage; however, waiting on their Catholic majeſties, he was received with honour, and ordered to ſail with three ſhips to the Weſt Indies, in order to carry proviſions to his brother, where he arrived while the admiral was gone upon the diſcovery of Cuba.

Chriſtopher Columbus now gave his brother Bartholomew the title of governor of the Indies, which their Catholic majeſties very much reſented, alleging that he had no power to grant ſo high an office; but this difference was at length compromiſed, and his place confirmed under the title of Adelantado, or Lord Lieutenant of the Indies.

Though Chriſtopher Colombus rejoiced at having the company and aſſiſtance of his brother, he was immediately involved in a great trouble and vexation by the miſconduct of Peter Margarite, who inſtead of obeying his orders by traverſing of the iſland with 360 foot and 14 horſe, which had been left under his command, had encamped in a large plain at ten leagues diſtance from Iſabella, from whence he diſpatched the moſt inſolent letters to the council; but finding at length that he was unable to obtain the ſupreme command, and dreading the return of the admiral, who might puniſh him for his preſumption, he, together with father Boyle, who had been ſent to convert the Indians, embarked on board one of the three ſhips that had brought over Bartholomew, and with others of his party, returned to Spain, with-

out aſſigning any reaſon for his departure, or diſpoſing of the men under his command; on which they diſperſed themſelves through the country, robbed the natives of their women and effects, and committed ſuch outrages, as not only entirely alienated the affection of the Indians from the Spaniards, but induced them to lay ſchemes of revenge. A Cacique, who had a large town, attacking ſome ſmall ſtraggling parties, killed ten of the Spaniards, and ſet fire to a houſe in which eleven of them were ſick. Six of the Spaniards were killed in other parts of the iſland, and much greater numbers would have periſhed, had it not been for the admiral's return. The Indians indeed might have eaſily ſhaken off the Spaniſh yoke, had they but united in their own defence; for there were four principal Caciques or kings, each of whom had ſeventy or eighty petty lords under his ſubjection, who were obliged, when called upon, to aſſiſt in the wars.

Columbus was very uneaſy at finding, that the chriſtians, by their vices, had rendered themſelves hated by the Indians, who could not bear their inſolence and barbarity. Guacanagari, indeed, continued a firm friend to the Spaniards, and viſiting the admiral at his return, declared that he had been ſo far from joining with his enemies, that he had protected and maintained an hundred of his people, by which means he had incurred the diſpleaſure of the other Caciques: Bohechico had killed one of his women, and another of them had been carried off by Caunabo; he therefore deſired Columbus's aſſiſtance to recover the one, and revenge the death of the other. This the admiral readily promiſed, and ſome of the natives who had murdered his men were puniſhed with death, and others ſent to Spain. Columbus and Guacanagari ſet out from Iſabella to proſecute the war againſt

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Columbus with 200 Foot 20 Horse & 20 Wolf Dogs, assisted by a body of the Islanders defeats 100,000 Indians.

the Indians, who were aſſembled to the number of 100,000, while Columbus's forces conſiſted only of 200 foot, 20 horſe, and 20 wolf dogs, and Guacanagari's of a body of Indians.

Columbus, being in ſight of the enemy on the ſecond day of his march, divided the little army under his command into two bodies; one of which he gave to his brother Bartholomew, that by attacking the enemy in two places at once he might increaſe their terror and confuſion. The Indians were immediately thrown into diſorder by the diſcharge of the muſkets and croſs-bows, when the Spaniards ruſhing upon them with their horſes and dogs, ſo terrified them that they were ſoon routed, and many ſlain, and a great number taken priſoners, among whom was Caunabo, with all his wives and children, who confeſſed that he had before killed twenty of the chriſtians at the town of Nativity, and that he intended to have acted in the ſame manner at Iſabella. This confeſſion together with his being taken in arms, induced the admiral to ſend him and his whole family into Spain, where they might be tried in ſuch a manner as was moſt agreeable to their Catholic majeſties.

This victory, and the captivity of Caunabo, ſo much intimidated the Indians, that within the ſpace of a year, Columbus, without any other engagement, reduced the whole iſland to obedience, and impoſed a quarterly tribute to be paid the king and queen of of Spain; every inhabitant of Cebao being taxed at a certain quantity of gold, and the reſt at twenty-five pounds of cotton a head. Things being thus ſettled to the ſatisfaction of all parties, the natives became ſo quiet and pacific, that a ſingle Spaniard might travel in ſafety over the whole iſland, and every where meet with an hoſpitable and friendly reception. However, the diſeaſes of the climate, and change of diet, had re-

duced the colony of Iſabella to leſs than one third of the number that firſt ſettled there.

The Spaniards, by converſing with the natives, now became better aequainted with their manners and cuſtoms, and learned amongſt other things, that the iſlands produced ebony, cedar, long pepper, ginger, frankincenſe, a great number of mulberry-trees, and copper.

In regard to religion, every Cacique had a detached temple ſet apart for the ſervice of certain wooden images called Cemies, before which they performed ſeveral ceremonies, and prayed with great devotion. In each of theſe temples was a round table, on which a certain kind of powder, which, being laid on the head of the idol, the devotee ſnuffed it up through an hollow cane, which conſiſted of two branches, at the ſame time repeating a kind of Jargon which ſeemed altogether unintelligible, and by this powder he was immediately intoxicated. Theſe images had different names, and ſome were in much higher reputation than others, ſo that a Cemi of character was frequently ſtolen. The Indians carefully concealed theſe ceremonies from the Chriſtians, whom they would not ſuffer to enter the place of their devotions. However, ſome Spaniards once ruſhed into a temple, at which the idol began to cry aloud in the Indian tongue: the Chriſtians however ſoon comprehended, and diſcovered the trick, by kicking it down, when they perceived that it was ſupplied with a trunk, the farther end of which reached to a dark corner of the apartment, where a man lay concealed among boughs and leaves, and ſpoke what was dictated by the Cacique, who now finding himſelf detected, earneſtly intreated the Spaniards not to communicate the diſcovery to his ſubjects, as it would render it impoſſible for him to keep them in obedience.

Moſt of the princes had alſo three ſtones, which both they and their people devoutly worſhipped, one of which, they ſaid, preſided over the corn and other grain, the other affected women in child-birth, and the third had an influence on the weather.

When a ſick Indian was deemed paſt recovery, he was ſtrangled by order of the Cacique, and was either burnt, buried, or embalmed, at the pleaſure of his relations. Some, on being embowelled and dried, were laid in hammocks, with bread and water at their heads, and others depoſited in a cave furniſhed with the ſame kind of proviſions. It is obſervable, that Caunabo being queſtioned about a future ſtate, ſaid, that after death he ſhould go to a certain vale, where he ſhould find his parents and predeceſſors, and eat, and drink, and enjoy all ſenſual pleaſures in the higheſt perfection.

But to return to Don Pedro Margarite and father Boyle, who, after having thrown the iſland into confuſion, had, as has been already mentioned, deſerted their poſts and returned to Spain. Theſe perſons united in ſpeaking ill of the Indies, and miſrepreſented every thing done by Columbus, becauſe they had not found gold ready for them to plunder heaped up in cheſts, or growing on the trees; and there being alſo letters written by ſome of the mal-contents, which gave an ill character of the admiral, their Catholic majeſties ſent John Aguado, groom of the king's bedchamber, to obſerve what was doing in the iſland of Hiſpaniola; who ſet ſail with four ſhips laden with neceſſaries, for the relief of the people.

John Aguado arrived at Iſabella while the admiral was in a diſtant province, and pretending to be inveſted with extraordinary authority, interpoſed

in matters of government; reproved the admiral's miniſters, and ſome time after followed Columbus, attended by a body of horſe and foot: who, hearing that John Aguado was in ſearch of him, returned to Iſabella, where Aguado behaved with the utmoſt indiſcretion, and treated the admiral with the greateſt diſreſpect. Mean while the people complained to him of having no other proviſions but a daily allowance out of the king's ſtores, of a porringer of wheat and a ſlice of ruſty bacon or rotten cheeſe, with a few beans or Spaniſh peaſe, and of the admiral's obliging them, as they were in the king's pay, to work at the fortifications, his own houſe and other ſtructures, and he reſolved to lay theſe complaints before their majeſties.

At this time the four ſhips brought by Aguado periſhed by a hurricane in the harbour, and there was no veſſel left to carry him back, but the admiral's two caravels, when Columbus obſerving his preſumption, and being informed that others had miſrepreſented him at court, where he had no other ſupport than his own merit, reſolved to appear before their majeſties to vindicate himſelf; to let them know what he had found in his ſecond diſcovery, relating to the iſland of Cuba, and his opinion as to the partition that was to be made between the two crowns of Caſtile and Portugal. But before he left the iſland, he ordered ſeveral new forts to be built; and being informed by ſome of the Caciques, that there were gold mines on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, he found it neceſſary in order to ſupport his own credit, to diſcover as much of that metal as poſſible, and therefore ſent ſeveral perſons with his Indian guides, who advancing into the moſt ſouthern province, found gold in all the brooks, and, digging in ſeveral places, met with ſuch plenty of it, that one labourer in

a day could get above three peſos. Theſe they called the mines of St. Chriſtopher, from a fort the admiral ordered to be erected there.

Columbus having ſettled the affairs of the iſland, and appointed his brother Bartholomew his lieutenant, went on board one of the caravels, and John Aguado in the other, and taking with him 225 Spaniards, who wanted to return, with thirty Indians, ſailed from Iſabella on the 10th of March 1496. He continued his courſe until the 6th of April, but meeting only with contrary winds, and finding his proviſions falling ſhort, and his men diſcouraged, he ſtood off towards the Caribee Iſlands, and on the nineteenth of April anchored at Guadalupe, where many women came with bows and arrows to hinder their landing; but as the ſea ran very high the boats were not able to reach the ſhore; upon which he ordered two Indian women to ſwim to it, and to tell the iſlanders that they wanted nothing but proviſions, for which they would give them a valuable conſideration.

The female warriors no ſooner underſtood the demand of the Spaniards, than they directed them to ſail to the other ſide of the iſland, where they could be ſupplied by their huſbands. But on their arrival there, a great number of people came down to the ſhore, and diſcharged their arrows at the boats; but perceiving that the Spaniards rowed towards the land, retired and formed an ambuſcade in the neareſt woods, whence they were eaſily driven by the firing of guns, when their houſes and effects being abandoned, were pillaged by the Spaniards, who being acquainted with the method of making bread, went to work, and made a ſufficient quantity of it to ſupply their wants. In theſe Indian houſes, which, contrary to the practice of the other iſlands, were ſquare, they found

large parrots, honey, wax and iron. While many of the people were employed in baking bread, the admiral ſent forty men to obtain ſome intelligence of the country, and the next day they returned with ten women and three boys, amongſt whom was the wife of a Cacique, whom a man born in the Canaries had much difficulty to overtake, which he could not have done, had ſhe not, on ſeeing him alone, turned back, when ſeizing him, ſhe threw him upon the ground, and would certainly have ſtifled him had not others come to his aſſiſtance. Theſe women ſwathed their legs with a piece of cotton from the ancle to the knee, and wore their hair long and flowing upon their ſhoulders; but no other parts of their bodies were covered. It is pretended that the captive ſaid, the iſland was inhabited only by women, and that amongſt thoſe who endeavoured to oppoſe the Spaniards, there were only four men who happened to be there by accident; and that at certain times of the year they came to propagate their ſpecies.

Columbus, having provided his ſhips with a ſupply of wood and water, ſet ſail from Guadalupe on the 20th of April, after having made ſome preſents to all the inhabitants they had in their poſſeſſion, and ſet them on ſhore, except the chief and her daughter, who choſe to go to Spain with Caunabo, who was a native of the Caribbees, though a Cacique of Hiſpaniola.

On the 20th of May, when the ſhips were about 100 leagues weſt of the Azores, their proviſion began to fail, on which each man was allowed only ſix ounces of bread, and ſomething leſs than a pint of water a day, and though there were eight or nine pilots in theſe two ſloops, yet none of them knew where they were. On the 8th of June, ſeveral days after the reckonings of all the pilots had been out, except the admiral's, they were in

ſight of Odemira, between Liſbon and Cape St. Vincent, which ſome miſtook for the coaſt of Galicia, while others maintained that they were in the Engliſh channel. The ſcarcity on board was now ſo great, that many of the men propoſed to eat the Indians, while others, to ſave the little proviſion that remained, were for throwing them overboard. Theſe cruel expedients were rejected by the admiral, who was obliged to exert all his addreſs and authority in order to protect them, and the next morning he was rewarded for his humanity with the ſight of land, which agreed ſo well with his having the evening before aſſerted that he was near Cape St. Vincent, which all on board had laughed at, that his men believed him to be prophetical in ſea-affairs.

The admiral on his landing, ſet out for Burgos, where he was favourably received by their Catholic majeſties, who were then celebrating the nuptials of their ſon with Margaret of Auſtria, the daughter of the emperor Maximilian. He preſented the king and queen with ſeveral ſorts of ſpice, various kinds of rich woods, birds of beautiful colours, girdles and maſks adorned with gold plates, a large quantity of gold duſt, with grains of that metal of different ſizes; and had ſo far improved their former diſcoveries as to be able to affirm that there were innumerable iſlands in theſe new diſcovered ſeas, that had the richeſt ſoil, and abounded with the moſt valuable natural productions.

Columbus, having vindicated his own conduct to their majeſties' ſatisfaction, earneſtly ſolicited to be ſent back with ſupplies to the colony he had left both in want of men, and many neceſſaries; but notwithſtanding the warmth of his ſolicitations, the court was ſo dilatory, that ten or twelve months elapſed before he could obtain a ſupply, which was ſent in two ſhips commanded by Peter

Fernandez Coronel. And after his departure, Columbus continued at court to procure the equipment of ſuch a fleet as was proper for him to conduct to the Weſt-Indies. This was however long retarded by the negligence and ill management of the king's officers, and particularly of Don Juan de Fonſeca, arch-deacon of Seville, who was afterwards created biſhop of Burgos, and proved an inveterate enemy to Columbus, whom he at length brought to diſgrace.

THE

THIRD VOYAGE

OF

Chriſtopher Columbus to America.

CHAPTER III.

Columbus ſteers a new courſe, paſſes by the Cape de Verde Iſlands, and anchors at one of them, where the Portugueſe ſend their lepers to be cured by living upon turtle. He thence ſails to the Weſt, and diſcovers the Iſle of Trinidad, and afterwards the Continent, which he at firſt ſuppoſed to be an Iſland, but finding his miſtake, called it Paria. He trades with the Inhabitants, and returns to Hiſpaniola. A ſuccinct Hiſtory of the troubles of that Iſland, and of the Admirals endeavours to pacify them: But the court of Spain being alarmed at the many complaints ſent from the Indies, depute a perſon to go thither to hear and determine them; upon which the Admiral is ſent home in irons with his two brothers.

COLUMBUS at laſt ſet ſail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda, on the 30th of May 1498, with ſix ſhips laden with proviſions and neceſſaries for the planters in Hiſpaniola, with a firm reſolution to diſcover the continent. On the ſeventh of June, he arrived at the iſland of Puerto Santo, where he took in wood and water: on the 9th, touched at Madeira, where he received other refreſhments on board; and on the 19th reached Gomera, at which place a French ſhip had taken three Spaniſh veſſels, and ſtood to ſea with them,

in ſight of the ſquadron. The admiral, on being informed of this capture, ordered three of his ſhips to give chace; but they had made too much way for the Spaniſh ſhips to come up with them. However, one of the prizes was retrieved by the bravery of the Spaniards whom the French had left on board; for, clapping their captors under the hatches, they returned with the veſſel ſafe into port.

Columbus ſailed from thence to the iſland of Ferro, and having reſolved to ſend three of his ſhips to Hiſpaniola, while he ſailed with the reſt to the Cape de Verde Iſlands, and from thence to the continent, he appointed John Antonio Columbus, his kinſman, Peter d' Aranda, and Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, captains of the ſhips bound for Hiſpaniola, with orders that each ſhould command a week in his turn. Having diſmiſſed them near the iſland of Hiero, he, on the 27th of June, deſcried the iſland of Sal, the firſt of the Cape de Verde iſlands, and paſſing it, anchored cloſe to a ſmall iſland to which all the lepers in Portugal were ſent to be cured by eating tortoiſes or turtle, and waſhing themſelves frequently with their blood; for in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, abundance of thoſe amphibious animals reſort thither from the continent, to lay their eggs in the ſand, and are eaſily caught by turning them on their backs while they are aſleep. This was the ſole buſineſs of the wretched lepers, and theſe animals their only ſuſtenance, for there is neither tree nor ſpring in the iſland, ſo that they are obliged to drink the water of certain pits, which is brackiſh and unpalatable. The healthy people living on that iſland amounted to only ſix or ſeven, whoſe whole employment conſiſted in killing and ſalting goats, of which there were ſuch multitudes on the mountains, that they have ſometimes, in the courſe

of one year, killed to the value of 4000 ducats, though the whole ſtock was produced from eight goats carried thither by Roderick Alphonſo, the proprietor of the iſland.

On the 30th of June, Columbus ſailed for the iſland of St. Jago, where he caſt anchor the next day in the evening, and ſent aſhore to buy cows and bulls wherewith to ſtock his plantation in Hiſpaniola; but finding that he could not obtain them without ſome difficulty and delay, he was unwilling to ſtay in ſo unhealthy a place, and his men beginning to ſicken, he ſailed to the ſouth-weſt, reſolving to continue that courſe until he ſhould be under the line, and to ſteer due weſt in ſearch of undiſcovered countries. He proceeded in this courſe notwithſtanding his meeting with violent currents, which ſet towards the north and north-weſt, until he arrived within five degrees of north latitude, where he was becalmed for eight days, during which the heat was ſo exceſſive, that the men could hardly breathe, and had not the air been ſometimes cooled with ſhowers of rain, the crew apprehended that they ſhould have been burnt with their ſhips. The admiral therefore reſolved to ſteer due weſt; but having ſailed many days in that courſe, and judging that the Caribbee Iſlands lay to the north, he reſolved to ſail directly for Hiſpaniola.

Columbus therefore ſtood to the northward, and one day about noon a ſailor going up to the round top obſerved land at the diſtance of fifteen leagues that had the appearance of three mountains. This iſland the admiral diſtinguiſhed by the name of La Trinidad, or Trinity; and ſailing due weſt, he anchored five leagues beyond a point which he called Punta de Galera, from a rock which at a diſtance reſembled a galley under ſail; but finding no convenience for taking in water, he ſailed

farther weſt, and caſt anchor at another point. He there took in ſome water, without ſeeing any houſes or people, though in coaſting along he had left ſeveral towns behind him. The ſame day, being the 1ſt of Auguſt, they diſcovered the continent at the diſtance of 25 leagues; but miſtaking it for another iſland, the admiral gave it the name of Iſla Santa.

Columbus now proceeded to a more weſterly point of the iſland of Trinidad, which he named Punta del Arenal, or ſandy point, where landing with his men in order to obtain refreſhments, a Cacique of the iſland came to him, and obſerving that he wore a cap of crimſon velvet, not only paid him great reſpect, but took off a circle of gold he had on his head and put it on the admiral's, and with the other hand took off the admiral's cap, with which he was greatly pleaſed, and put it on his own head. The ſame day, when they were aboard their ſhips, a large canoe carrying 25 men came from the eaſtward; but being about the diſtance of a muſket-ſhot, the Indians gave over rowing, and called aloud; but as what they ſaid could not be underſtood, the admiral ordered ſome of the men to allure them to the ſhip by giving them ſome little braſs baſons, looking glaſſes, and other glittering toys; but this proving ineffectual, Columbus, thinking to pleaſe them, ordered one of the men to aſcend the poop and play upon the tabor and pipe, while others danced around him. This, however had a quite contrary effect, for they took it for a ſignal of war, and therefore quitting their oars, laid hold of their targets and bows, and let fly their arrows. Upon this the admiral ordered the muſic to ceaſe, and ſome croſs-bows to be brought, but only two of them to be ſhot; whereupon the Indians immediately laid down their arms, and ran in cloſe under

the ſtern of one of the caravels, the pilot of which went down into the canoe, and giving one who ſeemed to be a principal perſon a red cap, they made ſigns to him to go aſhore, intimating that they would give him ſuch things as they had; but while he went in the boat to aſk the admiral's leave, they rowed away.

Theſe people were whiter than the Indians of the other iſlands, and had agreeable countenances. Their hair was long and ſtrait; about their heads they tied a piece of cotton-cloth curiouſly wrought of ſeveral colours, and another about their waiſts. The admiral wondered that being ſo near the equinoctial, he every morning felt the cold, notwithſtanding its being in the dog days; he obſerved that the rivers ran with greater rapidity than that of Seville; that the ſea at high water flowed above 48 paces up the ſhore, as it did at St. Lucar, and that the current ſet with ſuch ſtrength between the iſlands of Trinidad and Santa, which were only two leagues aſunder, that it reſembled a rapid river. The Spaniards found that the fruit, trees, ſoil and climate were the ſame as in Hiſpaniola. They ſaw parrots, ſome of a light green, others whitiſh, and others intermixed with red and yellow; and alſo caught very large oyſters, and great quantities of other fiſh.

The ſhips having taken in water at Punta del Arenal, Columbus proceeded to a point in the north-weſt of what he until then called Iſla Santa, which he thought to be extraordinary high land, as indeed it is; and this, which is a part of the continent near the vaſt ridge of mountains called the Andes, he afterwards called Paria.

Columbus now proceeded to another mouth or channel which he called Bocca della Sierpe, or the Serpent's mouth, from the danger of the place; for anchoring near a rock, the ſea ran ſo furiouſly to the northward, that it reſembled the mouth of

a great river, the ſtream of which encreaſing with a hideous noiſe, met with another current from the gulph of Paria, and ſwelled up the ſea with terrible roaring, to the aſtoniſhment and conſternation of the Spaniards, who expected to be overwhelmed. However they ſuffered no other damage than one of the ſhips dragging her anchor. This danger being paſt, the admiral ſailed weſtward along the coaſt of Paria, diſcovering ſeveral good harbours and rivers; and going aſhore, ſaw many monkeys, and found plantanes, and other fruit like thoſe of the iſlands.

On the 6th of Auguſt, they ſailed five leagues further down, between the coaſt and the iſle of Trinidad, where dropping anchor, three men came in a canoe, and being carried to the admiral, were treated with great civility; preſented with toys, and ſet on ſhore at a place where a number of the Indians were aſſembled; who no ſooner underſtood the pacific diſpoſition of the Spaniards, than they came in their canoes to barter with the ſame things that had been bought by the Spaniards at the iſlands. They drank a liquor as white as milk, and another that was green made of fruit and maize. The men covered their heads and waiſts with well-woven cotton of different colours; but the women here, as well as in the iſle of Trinidad, were entirely naked; but they ſeemed in general to be more civilized and tractable than the inhabitants of Hiſpaniola, and were particularly fond of braſs trinkets and bells; but having nothing of value, except a few inconſiderable plates of gold that hung about their necks, Columbus ordered ſix of them to be taken on board, and then continuing his courſe ſaw a fine country well peopled, and a town, which for its beauty he called the Gardens, where he anchored, and many reſorted to the ſhips with wrought cloths on their heads, and ſome of them with plates of gold about their

necks. The Indians on board ſaid that there was plenty of that metal in thoſe parts, and ſhewed how they gathered it. As they ſailed farther they were ſtill viſited in more canoes, in which all the people wore gold collars, with beads of various ſorts; and one Indian in particular had a ſingle grain of gold as big as an apple, The women wore ſtrings of beads about their arms, ſome of which were very fine pearls; theſe they ſignified were found in oyſters to the weſtward of Paria; and the admiral having purchaſed ſome of theſe for a preſent to their Catholic majeſties, ſent the boats to make farther enquiry about that valuable commodity; but though the ſailors had no deſign to land, two of the Indian chiefs conſtrained them to it, and conducted them to a houſe, where they were kindly entertained with bread, fruit of ſeveral ſorts, the white liquor before mentioned, and another of a red colour, and good taſte; the men all the time keeping together at one end of the houſe, and the women at the other. When they had been thus treated by the eldeſt, the youngeſt took them to another houſe, and treated them in the ſame manner. The ſailors returned well ſatisfied to their boats, highly pleaſed with the people, who were whiter than any other of the Indians, and of a very good ſtature; but what appeared to the admiral as very extraordinary, was, the country appearing cool and delightful, notwithſtanding its being ſo near the equinoctial.

Columbus ſtill continuing his courſe, found that the water grew more and more ſhallow, and therefore anchoring upon the coaſt, he ſent the ſmalleſt caravel to diſcover whether there was an outlet to the weſtward among what appeared to be iſlands, but ſhe returned the next day with a report, that what ſeemed iſlands was one continued continent; ſo that ſtanding back to the

eaſtward, he repaſſed the ſtreights called the Dragon's Mouth, between Paria and Trinidad Iſland, but not without great difficulty and danger from the boiſterous currents. He now ſailed weſtward along the coaſt of Paria, and after paſſing by ſeveral iſlands, on the 30th of Auguſt entered the harbour of St. Domingo in Hiſpaniola, where his brother had built a town which he called by that name in memory of his father, whoſe name was Dominick.

Columbus was at this time almoſt blind with watching, and quite exhauſted with fatigue; but he indulged the hope of taſting the ſweets of repoſe, and enjoying reſt and tranquility. He was however grieviouſly diſappointed: For he ſoon found that the whole iſland was in the greateſt confuſion. The greateſt part of thoſe he had left were dead; above 160 were miſerably infected with the venereal diſeaſe, and a great number had rebelled, at the head of whom was Francis Roldan, whom he had appointed Alcade or Chief Juſtice.

It has been already obſerved, that a conſiderable time elapſed before Columbus could obtain a ſupply from their Catholic majeſties for the colony of Hiſpaniola. In this interval, proviſions began to fail, the Spaniards of that iſland began to murmur, became diſſatisfied with their ſituation, and even deſpaired of his return. Roldan, whoſe office gave him a conſiderable influence, reſolved to take advantage of this ſpirit of diſcontent, in order to centre the whole power in his own hands, and therefore encouraged the murmurs of the diſcontented againſt Bartholomew Columbus, the lieutenant, and his brother Diego, to whoſe tyranny he imputed all their ſufferings. His intrigues were ſo ſucceſsful, that the minds of many of the Spaniards were alienated from the

brothers of Chriſtopher Columbus, and even made ſeveral attempts upon their lives. Roldan, at length, pulling off the maſk, aſſembled his men, who amounted to 65, and attempted to ſeize the town and fort of Conception. But this ſcheme miſcarried through the vigilance of Balleſter, the commander, who obtaining intelligence of his deſign, communicated it to the lieutenant, who ſent him a reinforcement. This rebellious behaviour obliged Bartholomew to ſend orders to Roldan, to reſign his poſt, and ſubmit to an impartial trial; but he diſdainfully refuſed to obey theſe commands, marched with his mutineers to Iſabella, where he there tried in vain to launch a caravel which was upon the ſtocks, plundered the ſtorehouſes and magazines, and obliged Diego Columbus to retire for protection into the fort; after which he fell upon the cattle that grazed in the neighbourhood, killed many of them for proviſions, and took all the beaſts of burden to ſerve his people in their march to the province of Xaragua, where he choſe to reſide, on account of its being the moſt pleaſant and plentiful part of the iſland, and its abounding with beautiful women.

Before Roldan ſet out for his retreat, he reſolved to try his ſtrength, and if poſſible, ſurprize the town of the Conception, where he intended to murder the lieutenant, and did not doubt but he ſhould eaſily ſubdue his men, who were too fond of an idle and voluptuous life; but Don Bartholomew, who was a man of equal courage and diſcretion, took ſuch meaſures, that not one of his people would forſake him, and boldly marching out againſt Roldan, the latter did not think fit to hazard a battle. Roldan now, by artful inſinuations to the prejudice of Chriſtopher Columbus and his brothers, engaged Guarinoex, a powerful Cacique, in his intereſt; and ſeveral Indian lords,

who were flattered with the hope of having their tribute remitted, entered into an aſſociation, by which it was reſolved, that at the full moon, the natives ſhould ſurprize and murder the Spaniards, who, for the convenience of ſubſiſtence, lived amongſt them in ſmall detached parties. But this project alſo miſcarried through the ignorance of the Indians, ſome of whom being miſtaken with reſpect to the appearance of the moon, fell upon the chriſtians before the appointed time, and were eaſily repulſed; by which means the conſpiracy was diſcovered, and the Spaniards put upon their guard.

Roldan, who was greatly mortified at theſe repeated miſcarriages, now retired with his followers to Xaragua, proclaimed himſelf the protector of the Indians againſt the oppreſſion of the lieutenant and his brother; and his artful miſrepreſentations had not only an effect upon ſome of the natives, who refuſed to pay the tribute, but made an impreſſion on the minds of thoſe Spaniards who ſtill remained under the government of the lieutenant, many of whom were, by the warmth of the climate, diſpoſed to a life of idleneſs, and were diſcontented at their having received no ſupplies from Spain; and indeed, ſuch a ſpirit of diſaffection was diffuſed amongſt them, that the lieutenant did not dare to puniſh the guilty for fear of a general revolt.

From theſe apprehenſions he was, however, in ſome meaſure relieved by the arrival of the two ſhips firſt ſent, in conſequence of the admiral's ſolicitations; for theſe bringing a reinforcement of men and proviſions with the aſſurance that the admiral himſelf would ſoon follow, the people were encouraged to perſevere in their duty. Theſe two ſhips being arrived at St. Domingo, Roldan marched towards that city in order to obtain ne-

ceſſaries, and if poſſible ſeduce ſome of the new comers; but he was anticipiated by the activity of the lieutenant who reached the place before he was within ſix leagues of it, and ſo effectually guarded the paſſes, that he could not ſucceed.—Yet as he earneſtly wiſhed to have the admiral to find the iſland in tranquility, he ſent overtures of accommodation by the commander of theſe veſſels; but Roldan ſent him back with a contemptuous refuſal.

While things were in this ſituation, the three ſhips which the admiral had detached from the Canary Iſlands arrived, but inſtead of entering the harbour of St. Domingo, were driven by the currents as far weſtward as the province of Xaragua, where they were viſited by Roldan and his followers, who ſeduced many of the people, and prevailed on them to enter into his ſervice. The captains of theſe three veſſels, underſtanding that Bartholomew Columbus and the Alcade were at variance, agreed that Carvajal, the commander of one of the ſhips, ſhould ſtay in Xaragua, and endeavour to produce an accommodation; that John Antonio Columbus, who commanded one of the other veſſels, and was kinſman to the admiral, ſhould conduct the workmen over land to St. Domingo, and that captain Arana ſhould ſail round with the ſhips. John Antonio Columbus accordingly landed with forty men; but on the ſecond day of his march, all his followers except ſix or ſeven, deſerted to the rebels, and with theſe he was obliged to return on board, after his having in vain expoſtulated with Roldan upon his treacherous conduct on this occaſion.

After a troubleſome voyage, in which their proviſions were ſpoiled, and Carvajal's veſſel greatly damaged, he arrived at St. Domingo, where the

admiral was juſt returned from the diſcovery of the continent. His brother had informed him of Roldan's revolt; at which being greatly concerned, he cauſed Roldan to be informed, that he was extremely ſorry for the breach that had happened between him and the Adelantado, or lieutenant, and was very deſirous of healing it; that he ſhould be extremely glad to ſee him, and would grant him a ſafe conduct. At the ſame time hearing that the rebels complained of their being detained upon the iſland for want of a veſſel to carry them home, he publiſhed a proclamation, granting leave to all that deſired it, to return to Spain, promiſing to ſupply them with proviſions and a free paſſage. Roldan, however, treated all the admiral's advances towards a reconciliation with indignity and inſult, boaſting that it was in his power either to ſupport or ſuppreſs the authority of the admiral, with whom he would not treat without the mediation of Carvajal, whom, he ſaid, he knew to be a man of honour and diſcretion.

As Carvajal was a perſon of conſequence and had ſome prudence, Columbus, though he had reaſon to ſuſpect his fidelity, ſince he had ſupplied the rebels with arms while the ſhips lay at Xaragua, conſented to employ him in this negociation. Roldan, however, refuſed to treat with them, ſent an inſolent letter to the admiral, and being at length perſuaded to accept of a ſafe conduct, and to viſit Columbus, made ſuch extravagant propoſals, as he could not embrace without expoſing himſelf to contempt. Columbus therefore explained his reaſons for rejecting them, and proclaimed a free pardon to all who ſhould return to their duty within thirty days; a copy of which, with new overtures of peace, was carried to the rebels by Carvajal; and about the ſame time Columbus ſent five ſhips to Spain, with a letter to their Majeſties,

containing a particular account of the colony and its diſſentions.

After many diſputes, it was at length agreed, that the admiral ſhould deliver to Roldan two good ſhips well manned and victualled for tranſporting him and his party to Spain; that they ſhould be paid their ſalaries and wages to the day of their departure, and that ſuch of their effects ſhould be reſtored as had been ſeized by his and the lieutenant's order. Matters being thus compromiſed, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ſhips, but the weather being extremely boiſterous, ſome time elapſed before they were ready, and could be brought round to Xaragua, and during this interval, Roldan changed his mind, and refuſed to embark; but expreſſing a deſire to ſee the affair accommodated, demanded a ſafe conduct in order to treat with the admiral in perſon. The latter being ſenſible of the mutinous diſpoſition of his own people, was ſo ſolicitous about healing this diviſion, that he not only complied with Roland's demand, but went round with two caravels to the port of Azua near Xaragua, where he had a conference with the rebel chief, in which it was agreed that fifteen of Roldan's followers ſhould be ſent home to Spain; that lands and houſes ſhould be given inſtead of pay to thoſe that remained; that Roldan ſhould again be appointed perpetual alcade, and that an act of general amneſty ſhould be publiſhed.

This troubleſome affair being thus adjuſted, the admiral cauſed a captain at the head of a body of men to march round the iſland, in order to pacify and reduce the rebellious Indians; and that no cauſe of animoſity might be left at Hiſpaniola, he propoſed to take his brother the lieutenant with him to Spain; but while he was preparing for the voyage, Alonza de Hojeda arrived in the iſland

with four ſhips from a cruize, in which he had pretended to make diſcoveries, and putting into the port of Yaquimo, not only committed ſeveral outrages againſt the Indians, but by letters began to tamper with ſome of the Spaniards, who were hardly yet confirmed in their duty. To theſe he inſinuated that Queen Iſabella was in a very bad ſtate of health, and after her deceaſe, the admiral would find no protection at court, but would fall a victim to Hojeda's kinſman, the Biſhop of Burgos, and Columbus's inveterate enemy.

Columbus being informed of theſe proceedings, ordered Roldan to march againſt him with 21 men. This order he obeyed ſo ſuddenly, that Hojeda, finding it impoſſible to eſcape, went to meet him, excuſed his landing under the pretence of his being in want of proviſions, and declared that he had no intentions to diſturb the repoſe of the iſland, but would ſoon ſail to St Domingo, and give the admiral an account of his voyage. But notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, he ſailed to the province of Xaragua, where he ſeduced many of the people by telling them that he and Carvajal had been appointed by their Majeſties Counſellors as checks upon the admiral, and that as he had not been ſo juſt as to pay them, they ſhould go under his command and do themſelves juſtice by force. This wild ſcheme being oppoſed by ſome of the Spaniards, who were amazed at Hojeda's preſumption, a tumult enſued, in which ſeveral perſons were killed and wounded; but Roldan marching a ſecond time againſt him, he retired to his ſhip. The alcade, perceiving he was out of his reach, invited him to come aſhore, and treat of an accomodation; and upon his refuſal, offered to go on board, when Hojeda ſending his boat well-manned, Roldan, with ſix or ſeven of his followers, entered it, and when it was leaſt ſuſpected, fell upon

Hojeda's men, made themſelves maſters of the boat, and returned with it to land, which obliged Hojeda to ſubmit to a treaty, and to give ſecurity that he would depart the iſland.

Soon after another commotion was raiſed by Ferdinand Guevara, who was in diſgrace with the admiral, for being concerned in the late ſedition, and he being exaſperated againſt Roldan, for not permitting him to marry the queen of Xaragua's daughter, entered into a conſpiracy with one Adrian de Mozica, and having engaged many people in his intereſt, reſolved to ſurprize and murder the alcade. But Roldan being informed of their proceedings took his meaſures ſo well, that he ſeized the chief conſpirators, and being ordered by the admiral to puniſh them according to law, he proceeded to a fair trial, in conſequence of which Mozica was hanged, ſome of the confederates baniſhed, and others ſent to priſon.

This example had ſuch an effect, that tranquility was reſtored throughout the whole iſland; and about this time ſuch rich gold mines were diſcovered, that every man left the king's pay, and went to dig on his own account, allowing the king one third of all that was found. In this employment they met with ſuch ſucceſs, that one would ſometimes gather 40 ounces in a day, and a lump of pure gold was found weighing 196 ducats.

While Columbus was thus exerting all his prudence, and exerciſing his humanity in appeaſing the troubles of Hiſpaniola, he little thought that a ſtorm was riſing againſt him at home. A number of malcontents had been ſent to Spain during the rebellion, who repreſented him as an inſolent alien, ignorant of the laws and cuſtoms of the Spaniſh nation; oppreſſive and cruel in his diſpoſition; elated with the dignity to which he had been raiſed, and ſo avaricious and unjuſt, that he not only with-held the pay due to the ſervants

of the government, but embezzled the riches of the iſland. They inveighed with ſtill greater vehemence againſt his brother the lieutenant, nor did Diego eſcape the utmoſt virulence of their cenſure. Theſe invectives being ſpread abroad by the friends of thoſe who had been the diſturbers of the peace of Hiſpaniola, and encouraged by many perſons at court, who envied Columbus's ſucceſs and reputation, ſuch a clamour was raiſed in Caſtile, that the king and queen were daily ſurrounded in the ſtreets by the people demanding juſtice againſt that proud and tyrannical foreigner, who had oppreſſed ſo many Caſtilians, and diſcovered a miſchievious country to be the ruin and grave of the Spaniſh gentry. Their Majeſties ſent over an Inſpector-general to Hiſpaniola, with power to enquire into the admiral's conduct, and if he ſhould be found guilty to ſend him home, while the Inſpector was to remain governor of the iſland in his room. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of the order of Calatrava, but in very low circumſtances, was choſen for this high office; and being furniſhed with full powers, arrived at St. Domingo in the latter end of Auguſt 1500, while the admiral was at the Conception with moſt of the people of conſequence, ſettling the affairs of that province.

Bovadilla finding nobody at St. Domingo who could be a check upon his conduct, immediately took poſſeſſion of the admiral's palace, ſeized his effects, aſſembled all who were diſaffected to the brothers; declared himſelf governor, diſpatched orders to the admiral to repair to him without delay, and to back his ſummons, ſent him the king and queen's letter, which contained no more than that their majeſties had ſent the bearer to acquaint Columbus with their pleaſure, which he was directed to obey, and this order was ſigned both by the king and queen.

Columbus, immediately on his receiving this letter, ſet out for St. Domingo, to wait upon Bovadilla, who, without any legal information, ſent him and his brother Diego on board a ſhip, where they were laid in irons, placed under a ſtrong guard, and entirely excluded from the ſpeech of any perſon whatſoever. A proceſs was then begun againſt them, and all their enemies being admitted as evidences, their depoſitions were ſo malicious, incoherent, and abſurd, that nobody who had not been determined at all events to ruin the accuſed, would have paid the leaſt regard to their allegations. Bovadilla, however, on this occaſion countenanced the moſt flagrant perjuries, and even encouraged the rabble to inſult the priſoners, by blowing horns at the port where the ſhips lay at anchor, and by reading ſcandalous libels at the market place. The lieutenant, who was not yet returned from Xaragua, might probably have reſcued his brothers by force of arms, had not the admiral ordered him to ſubmit quietly to their majeſties authority, veſted in the perſon of the new governor, who had no ſooner laid his injunction on Andrew Martin, the captain of the ſhip, to deliver the admiral in irons to the biſhop de Fonſeca, by whoſe direction he acted, than he began to embezzle the treaſure, ſquander the king's revenue among his creatures, oppreſs the Indians, countenance the greateſt profligacy, and deſtroy all the prudent regulations eſtabliſhed by the admiral.

Andrew Martin was no ſooner out at ſea, than being aſhamed to ſee the brave Columbus in this diſgraceful ſituation, would have knocked off his irons; but he reſolved to wear them during his whole paſſage, and to keep them ever after as a memorial of the reward he had obtained for his ſervices; and indeed theſe fetters he always preſerved in his own chamber, and, at his requeſt, they were at length buried in the ſame coffin with his body.

On the 20th of November, 1500, he wrote to their Catholic majeſties to acquaint them with his arrival at Cadiz. Upon which they gave immediate orders for his being releaſed; ſent him very gracious letters, in which they expreſſed their ſorrow for his ſufferings, and invited him to court, promiſſing that he ſhould ſoon be ſent again, and fully reſtored to his honours.

On his arrival at Granada, the king and queen gave him a favourable reception, and let him know that they were offended at the author of his impriſonment, who had acted thus without their orders, and promiſed that he ſhould have full ſatisfaction. Mean while they directed his affair to be examined, and the accuſations againſt him plainly appearing malicious and frivolous, he was honourably acquitted; and at the ſame time a new governor of Hiſpaniola was appointed, in order to redreſs the admiral's grievances, and oblige Bovadilla to reſtore what he had unjuſtly ſeized. This commiſſion was granted to Nicholas de Obando, commendary of laws, a man of abilities, but crafty, cruel, and revengeful, who afterwards exerciſed great barbarity upon the natives and their chiefs.

It was at the ſame time reſolved to ſend the admiral upon ſome voyage that might turn to his advantage, and keep him employed, until Obando could ſettle the affairs of Hiſpaniola; but there being ſome delay in the execution of this deſign, and the admiral being apprehenſive of future diſgrace, from the indefatigable efforts of his enemies at court, deſired to be excuſed from embarking again, and intreated their majeſties to defend him againſt all dangers. This procured him a very favorable anſwer, and ſoon after the moſt advantageous grants and conceſſions, which made him reſolve once more to expoſe his life in another voyage to the Indies, in order to perfect his diſcoveries.

CHAPTER IV.

A DIGRESSION,

Containing the Diſcoveries made by other Spaniards, while Columbus was engaged in the third Voyage.

BEFORE we proceed to Columbus's next voyage, it is proper that we ſhould give ſome account of the diſcoveries, whether real or pretended, that were made before he again ſet ſail for America. Alonzo Hojeda, who has been already mentioned in the courſe of this voyage, and Americus Veſpucius, obtained from the biſhop of Burgos, the draughts and plans which, by their majeſties order Columbus had depoſited in the hands of that prelate, who, out of hatred to that great commander, and to rob him, if poſſible, of his credit and reputation, gave them up without the knowledge of the king and queen. The licences he gave theſe gentlemen were alſo clandeſtine. They ſet ſail from Cadiz on the 20th of May 1499, and ſteered directly in ſearch of the continent, purſuant to the admiral's ſcheme, which before this time he had actually carried into execution. This was the firſt voyage made by Americus Veſpucius, and though he now only touched at that part of the continent which had been viſited by the admiral, yet he impudently pretended to diſcover it; and by confounding this with a voyage he afterwards made into thoſe parts, dreſſed up a plauſible ſtory, and being an excellent geographer and draftſman, impoſed upon the greateſt part of Europe. In

Spain, however, he was ſoon detected; for pretending that he returned directly to that kingdom after a voyage of thirteen months ſpent in diſcoveries, Hojeda made oath that only five months were ſpent in the voyage, and that finding themſelves ſhort of proviſions, they ſailed to Hiſpaniola for a ſupply.

It was no ſooner known that Alonzo Hojeda and America Veſpucius had obtained the above licences, than others reſolved to make uſe of the ſame intereſt in order to acquire a ſhare of the riches of the new world; and a company was formed by ſome of the inhabitants of Seville, the principal of whom was Peter Alonzo Nino of Palos, who was with the admiral when he diſcovered Paria, and Chriſtopher Guerre of Seville.

Nino having obtained the king's licence, upon condition of his not coming to an anchor, or landing within fifty leagues of any place diſcovered by Columbus, ſet ſail ſoon after Hojeda and Veſpucius, diſcovered land, and arrived at the province of Paria a few days after them; where finding the Indians behave peaceably, he, contrary to his inſtructions, landed and cut Brazil wood, and then continuing his courſe, came to what Columbus had called the Bay of Pearls, formed by the iſland of Margarita, and the continent, and which he had viſited in 1498.

The people here went on board Nino's ſhips without any apprehenſions, carrying pearl necklaces, and wearing jewels in their noſes and ears; for which the Spaniards gave them hawks-bells, bracelets, rings, and ſeveral trifles made of tin. Having thus purchaſed a conſiderable quantity of valuable pearls, the Spaniards paſſed by Coro, near the province now called Venezuela, 130 leagues below Paria and the Dragon's Mouth, and

anchored in a bay where they were well received by fifty men, who came from a place at a league's diſtance, and very earneſtly preſſed them to anchor at their town: upon which the Spaniards gave them ſome toys, and the Indians taking off all the pearls they had about their necks and arms, in the ſpace of an hour gave them as many as weighed fifteen ounces.

The next day the Spaniards came to an anchor before a town called Curiana, where the Indians made ſigns to them to come on ſhore; but being no more than 33 men, they durſt not venture, and therefore by their ſigns invited the Indians to come on board, which they did in their canoes, carrying pearls, which they freely exchanged for toys; by which the Spaniards being convinced of their ſincerity, landed and ſtayed twenty days on ſhore, during which they were courteouſly entertained with veniſon, rabits, geeſe, ducks, parrots, fiſh, and bread made of maize. They perceived that the natives kept markets or fairs; that they had earthen jars, diſhes, and other veſſels of ſeveral ſhapes, and that in their pearl necklaces they had frogs and other creatures made of gold. They aſked by ſigns where that metal was gathered, and were anſwered in the ſame manner, that it was got ſix days journey from thence, at a place called Curiana Cauchcito.

The Spaniards therefore ſailed thither, and found that the people were very tractable; for they came on board in their canoes without the leaſt jealouſy, and bartered with them for wrought and unwrought gold, though they would not part with their pearls. They alſo gave them ſome monkies, and very beautiful parrots of various colours.

Leaving this place they proceeded farther; but as they approached the ſhore above 5000 naked men came armed with bows and arrows to oppoſe

their landing, and, though they ſtrove to pleaſe them by ſhewing them hawks bells, and other things, they could not prevail, and therefore returned to Curiana, where they were received with the ſame ſatisfaction as before, the Indians now trading with them for pins and needles, which the Spaniards ſhewed them would be of uſe in drawing the thorns out of their feet, when they happened to tread upon them. The Indians were highly pleaſed, thinking they had made very advantageous bargains with the Spaniards, who carried away above 12,000 ounces of pearls, ſome of which were very beautiful, and well coloured, and as large as ſmall hazle-nuts; but they were ill bored, the Indians having no iron. The Spaniards were now ſo well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of their voyage, that they reſolved to return home, and arrived at Galicia on the 6th of February 1500, two months after they left Curiana, when Nino and Chriſtopher Guerre, who ſhared in the expence and profits of the voyage, were accuſed before the governor, by their own ſhip's crew, of having defrauded the king of his duty, which was the 5th part.

The great riches which the adventurers gained by this voyage, promoted the ſpirit of diſcovery, more eſpecially among ſuch as knew the propoſals made by Columbus, or had ſerved under him in his firſt two voyages. Of theſe none was ſo capable of proſecuting them as Vincent Yanez Pinzon, of whom we have already ſpoken. He had a liberal education, great courage, and a large fortune; he therefore fitted out, at his own expence, a ſquadron of four ſtout ſhips, with which he ſailed to the Cape de Verd Iſlands, where he took in refreſhments, and ſteered from St. Jago, about the year 1500, firſt ſtanding to the ſouth and then to the weſt, and was the firſt ſubject of the crown of Caſtile and Leon, that croſſed the Equinoctial.

But he had hardly croſſed the line, when he met with a dreadful ſtorm, in which all on board expected to periſh: However, having run 240 leagues farther to the weſtward, they on the 26th of February diſcovered land at a great diſtance, which Yanez called Cabo de Conſolation, or Cape Comfort (now called Cape St. Auguſtine,) and ſounding, had fourteen fathoms water. Captain Pinzon going on ſhore, took poſſeſſion of the country in the name of their Catholic majeſties, and endeavoured to the utmoſt of his power, though without effect, to induce the people to trade with him; for the natives being inflexible, and having no good opinion of theſe invaders, an engagement enſued, in which ſome were ſlain on both ſides.

This made captain Pinzon reſolve to retire, and continue his voyage, which he did to the mouth of the river Maranon, where he obſerved a mighty ſtruggle between the tide ſalt water coming in, and a vaſt current of freſh water pouring down from the land. The country at the mouth of this river, he found well inhabited on both ſides, but not being able to perſuade the inhabitants to traffick, he reſolved, without further delay, to proceed towards Paria.

Yanez, on his arrival at Paria, took in Brazil wood, and then ſtruck over to the iſlands that lay in the way to Hiſpaniola: But when the ſhips were lying at anchor, there aroſe ſuch a dreadful ſtorm, that two of the four ſunk in ſight of the others with all the men; a third was forced from her anchors with eighteen men, and carried out of ſight, and the fourth, though ſhe rode it out, beat ſo furiouſly, that the ſailors, believing ſhe would be daſhed in pieces, went aſhore in the long-boat, and had thoughts of murdering all the Indians they found, to prevent their calling in their neighbours to deſtroy them; but the ſhip that had been driven

to ſea with the eighteen men returned, and the other which rode at anchor being ſaved, they ſailed to Hiſpaniola, where they refitted, and returned to Spain about the latter end of September; after having diſcovered 600 leagues of the coaſt of Paria.

James de Lepe, a native of Palos, having heard of the expedition undertaken by Pinzon, applied himſelf to the earl of Miranda his patron, and promiſing to perform wonders in caſe he would enable him to make the ſame voyage, his requeſt was complied with, and he actually arrived at the mouth of the river Maranon, ſoon after Pinzon had left it; the people being provoked at his ſeizing thirty-ſix men, and carrying them on board, vigorouſly attacked the Spaniards, and killed ſeveral of them, which obliged him to proſecute his voyage to Paria, where he alſo quarrelled with the inhabitants, and returned without making the leaſt advantage of this expedition, except taking a few Indian priſoners.

It is here proper to obſerve, that Emanuel king of Portugal, ſending a conſiderable fleet to the Eaſt-Indies* under the command of Peter Alvarez Cabral in the year 1500, that admiral ſailing to the S. W. to avoid the calms on the coaſt of Guinea, was ſo happy as to diſcover Brazil, one of the richeſt provinces in South-America, by mere accident. But it is now neceſſary to return to the diſcoveries made by the great Columbus.

* The coaſt of India had been diſcovered by Vaſco de Gama, in 1498, while Columbus was engaged in his third voyage to the Weſt-Indies. See de Gama's voyage.

THE

FOURTH VOYAGE

OF

Chriſtopher Columbus to America.

CHAPTER V.

Columbus arrives at Hiſpaniola, and meets with the baſeſt uſage from Obando, the new governor, upon which he leaves that iſland, and proſecutes his diſcoveries along the coaſt of the continent: proceeds to the iſthmus of Darien, where he expected to find a paſſage to the Indies: ſails to the haven of Porto Bello: ſends a detachment up the river Veragua to the Indian Mines; and after other excurſions into the country, forms a ſettlement at the mouth of the river Belem, when being informed that a Cacique named Quibio intended to ſet fire to the houſes, he cauſes him and his family to be ſeized, but they making their eſcape, attack the ſettlement, and kill ſeveral of the Spaniards, upon which the new ſettlers rejoin the admiral, who after ſuffering ſeveral hardſhips, run the ſhips on ſhore on the coaſt of Jamaica; whence they ſend two canoes to Hiſpaniola. The hardſhips ſuffered by the people in the voyage, and the troubles the admiral met with in Jamaica during his long ſtay in that iſland. The Spaniards ſail thence to Hiſpaniola, and afterwards to Spain, where Columbus DIES. Some account of his Perſon and Character.

COLUMBUS, having received his inſtructions, ſailed from Cadiz with four ſmall ſhips, and 140 men, including boys; on the 9th of May 1502, he arrived at St. Catherine's, and departed from thence on the 11th for Arzilla, a port-town of Morocco, then ſubject to Portugal, and inveſted by

the Moors. He ſailed thither, in order to relieve the Portugueſe, who were reported to be in great diſtreſs; but the Moors had raiſed the ſiege before his arrival, the admiral therefore ſailed for Grand Canaria, where he arrived on the 20th, and having taken in wood and water for the voyage, proceeded on the 25th in the evening for the Weſt-Indies, with ſo favorable a wind, that on the 15th of June, he arrived at the iſland of Martinico. He there took in a freſh ſupply of wood and water, and then ſailed by the Carribbee-Iſlands to St. Domingo in Hiſpaniola, where he intended to exchange one of his ſhips, which was a bad ſailer, in order to continue his voyage, with leſs hinderance, to the coaſt of Paria, in queſt of a ſtreight which he concluded was near the place ſince called Veragua and Nombre de Dios.

In order that the judge ſent by their majeſties to call Bovadilla to an account might not be ſurprized at his unexpected arrival, he, on his approaching the port, diſpatched before him one of his captains, to ſignify the neceſſity of changing the ſhip, and to repreſent that as he apprehended a great ſtorm was approaching, he propoſed to ſecure himſelf in that port, and deſired that the homeward bound fleet might not ſail for eight days, by which means it would avoid the danger to which it would otherwiſe be expoſed. But ſo little inclined was this new governor to aſſiſt the admiral with another veſſel, that he would not even allow him to enter the port; and diſregarding his advice, permitted the fleet, in which were Roldan, and all who had been in the rebellion, to put to ſea, on their return to Spain.

But the fleet had no ſooner weathered the eaſt point of Hiſpaniola, than there aroſe ſo terrible a ſtorm, that the admiral of the fleet, in which was Bovadilla, and moſt of the rebels, foundered, and

this hurricane was ſo fatal to the reſt, that of the eighteen ſhips that were in that fleet, only four were ſaved. Mean while Columbus, who had foreſeen the ſtorm, and been refuſed admittance into an iſland which he had diſcovered, and added to the dominions of Spain, ſheltered himſelf under the land; but the ſtorm encreaſing, three of Columbus's veſſels were forced out to ſea, when the Bermuda, the ſhip he wanted to exchange, would certainly have periſhed had ſhe not been preſerved by the admirable ſkill of his brother Bartholomew, who was allowed to be the moſt expert ſeaman of his time. The ſhips being thus ſeparated, each concluded that the other was loſt, until in a few days they met again in the port of Azua.—The admiral's ſatisfaction, however was conſiderably diminiſhed by the mortification he felt, upon reflecting that he had been denied ſhelter in a port where he had a right to command, and refuſed a privilege in his own iſland, that is never denied to ſtrangers. However, the conſequence of this ſtorm furniſhed his ſuperſtitious enemies with a pretence for ſaying, that he had raiſed it by magic, in order to deſtroy the fleet bound for Spain; and what ſeemed to add weight to this ridiculous ſuppoſition, was, that the only ſhip of the eighteen that arrived in Spain was the Aguja, on board of which were 4000 peſos of gold belonging to the admiral, while three others that reſiſted the fury of the waves were forced in a ſhattered condition back to St. Domingo.

Columbus, while in the port of Azua, gave his men ſome refreſhment after the ſtorm, and allowed them to divert themſelves with fiſhing, in which they had good ſucceſs: and amongſt the reſt of the fiſh they caught here, was one called the Savina, which is as big as an ordinary church bell, and lying aſleep above water, was ſtruck with an

harping iron by the crew in one of the boats.—One end of this iron being faſtened to a long rope, and the other to the boat, the fiſh drew the boat after it as ſwift as the flight of an arrow, while thoſe who were on board the ſhip, ſeeing the boat ſkim about, and not knowing the reaſon, were greatly aſtoniſhed, until at laſt the fiſh ſinking, it was drawn to the ſhip's ſide and hawled up by the tackle. They alſo caught in the ſame bay the Manatee, or ſea-cow, an amphibious animal, whoſe fleſh was compared by the people on board to that of veal.

Columbus, having here repaired the damage his ſhips had ſuſtained by the ſtorm, ſailed in order to make diſcoveries on the continent, and reached the iſlands of Guania, near the province now called Honduras, where Bartholomew Columbus going on ſhore with two boats, they ſaw a great number of pine trees and pieces of lapis calaminaris, which, being mixed with copper, ſome of the ſeamen miſtook for gold.

While the admiral's brother was at this iſland, and was very deſirous of knowing what it contained, he obſerved approaching the ſhore a canoe made of one tree, as long as a galley; it was eight feet wide, and had an awning of palm leaves in the middle, not unlike thoſe of the Venetian gondolas; under this cover the women, children, and all the goods were ſheltered from the weather, and though there were twenty-five men on board the canoe, they had not the courage to defend themſelves againſt the boats, but being purſued, were taken without oppoſition. The admiral was rejoiced at his having obtained an opportunity of diſcovering the commodities of the continent, without expoſing his men to danger; and having given orders for examining the cargo, there were found quilts, and a kind of ſhirts without ſleeves,

made of cotton curiouſly wrought and dyed of ſeveral colours; ſome ſmall cloths of the ſame ſort, to be worn about the middle, with large ſheets in which the women on board wrapt themſelves; large wooden ſwords, edged on each ſide with ſharp flints fixed in grooves with thread and a bituminous matter; and alſo hatchets made of copper; bells of the ſame metal, with plates and crucibles for melting it. As for the proviſions, they conſiſted of the ſame kind of roots and grain as were eaten in Hiſpaniola, and a ſort of liquor reſembling Engliſh beer made of maize. They had alſo a conſiderable number of cocoa nuts, upon which they ſeemed to ſet a great value; for notwithſtanding the conſternation with which they were ſeized at finding themſelves priſoners aboard the ſhip, they never failed, when one of theſe nuts chanced to fall upon the deck, to ſtoop and take it up with eagerneſs, as if it were ſomething of conſequence. They behaved with extraordinary modeſty, and ſeemed to have ſome ſenſe of decorum, with which the admiral was ſo pleaſed that he ordered them to be well uſed; gave them European commodities in exchange for ſuch of their goods as he thought proper to retain, and then reſtoring their canoe, ſuffered them to depart. He however kept an old man, who ſeemed both the wiſeſt and chief man of the company, in order to learn ſomething of the country, and to draw others to converſe with the chriſtians, which he faithfully did, as long as they ſailed where his language was underſtood; and when he could be no longer ſerviceable, was diſmiſſed with a preſent, and then ſent home highly pleaſed.

Though the admiral was told by this Indian of the great wealth, politeneſs, and ingenuity of the people weſtward towards Mexico, yet knowing that as that country lay to the leeward, he could ſail thither from Cuba whenever he thought

fit, he reſolved at preſent to perſiſt in his deſign of diſcovering a ſtreight in the continent through which he expected to find the Eaſt Indies, and in particular the country that produced ſpices. He accordingly ſailed towards Darien, where he was told that he ſhould find this ſtreight; but the Indians meant an iſthmus or neck of land, which he miſtook for a paſſage extending from ſea to ſea. In queſt of this ſtreight, he ſailed towards a point on the continent, to which he gave the name of Caſinas, from his finding there great plenty of trees bearing a fruit ſo called by the natives of Hiſpaniola: Near this cape ſaw people who wore painted tunics, or ſhirts made of cotton, ſo thick and ſtrong as to defend them againſt the weapons uſed in that country, and even to bear off the ſtroke of ſome of ours. Farther to the eaſtward he found the natives of a fierce aſpect, and of a ſavage diſpoſition; they went entirely naked; eat fleſh and fiſh raw as it was taken, and made holes in their ears, which they ſtretched by their pendants, ſo wide that a hen's egg might be paſſed through them, from which circumſtance the admiral denominated that coaſt de las Orejas, or of the Ears.

On the 14th of Auguſt in the morning, Barthomew Columbus went aſhore upon this coaſt, to hear maſs, with the colours flying, and attended by the captains and many of the men; and a few days after he again landed to take poſſeſſion of the country for their Catholic majeſties, when about 100 Indians loaded with proviſions ran towards ſhore, but on the approach of the boats ſuddenly retired without ſpeaking a word. The lieutenant perceiving their timidity, deſired the interpreter to allure them with bells, beads, and other toys, with which they were ſo well pleaſed, that they returned in greater numbers the next day, with ſeveral ſorts of proviſions, as hens, which

were better than thoſe of Spain, geeſe, broiled fiſh, and red and white beans. The country was low, green, and beautiful, and produced abundance of pines, oaks, palm-trees and mirabolans, with all the fruits that were to be found on the iſland of Hiſpaniola; there were alſo deer, leopards, and other animals. The inhabitants were like thoſe of the iſlands, only their foreheads were not ſo high; for the moſt part they went naked, except a cloth round their waiſts, but thoſe of diſtinction wore red and white cotton cloths about their heads; and ſome had a ſhort jacket without ſleeves, that reached to the waiſt. Their arms and bodies were ornamented with different figures wrought into the ſkin by pricking it, and on feſtival days they painted their faces of various colours, which made them look extremely terrible. They ſeemed to have no religion, and every nation ſpoke a particular language of their own.

From cape Caſinas, the admiral was ſeventy-three days in ſailing ſixty leagues to the eaſtward, the wind and current being contrary all the time. But as there was good riding along the coaſt, he tacked to and fro, and every night dropped anchor under the land; but at length he reached a cape to which he gave the name of Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God; becauſe from that place, the land turning off to the South, enabled him to proſecute his voyage with a trade wind. However, a little beyond this headland he paſſed ſome dangerous ſands, which for a conſiderable way ran out to ſea.

On the 16th of September, being in want of wood and water, Columbus ſent the boats into a river, that ſeemed to have a deep and good entrance; but on their return, the wind blowing from the ſea, and the waves running high againſt the current of the river, one of the boats, with all her men, was loſt, when the admiral called this

Rio de la Diſgracia, or the River of Diſaſter. Still running to the ſouthward, they, on the 25th, anchored near a little iſland called Quiriviri, and a town on the continent named Coriari, which is ſituated near a great river, to the banks of which a multitude of people reſorted; ſome with bows and arrows, others with ſtaves, of a wood as black as jet, as hard as iron, and pointed with fiſh bones; while others came with clubs. They ſeemed to have aſſembled with the intention of defending their country from invaſion; but obſerving the pacific diſpoſition of the Spaniards, were very deſirous of bartering their commodities with them, which conſiſted of arms, cotton jackets, and pieces of pale gold, which they wore about their necks. With theſe things they ſwam to the boats, for the Spaniards did not go aſhore that day nor the next; nor would the admiral allow his people to take their goods in exchange, but preſented them with ſeveral baubles. Yet the leſs the Spaniards ſeemed to regard the traffic, the more eagerneſs they diſcovered for it, and made ſigns for them to come aſhore; but theſe proving ineffectual, they retired, leaving every thing they had received on the ſhore, where they were found by the Spaniards, at the place which they afterwards landed at. The Indians at length ſuppoſing that the Spaniards did not confide in their ſincerity, ſent an old man of an awful preſence, carrying a flag upon a ſtaff, attended by two young girls with pieces of gold about their necks. Theſe, by the old man's deſire, were conducted by the boats crew aboard the admiral, who ordered them to be clothed and fed, had them ſet on ſhore, where they were received with much ſatisfaction by the old man, and fifty of the natives.

Bartholomew Columbus going aſhore the next day, in order to learn ſomething of the country,

two of the chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms, made him ſit down between them. In this ſituation he began to interrogate them by ſigns, and ordered his ſecretary to write down what were ſuppoſed to be their anſwers; but they no ſooner ſaw the pen, ink, and paper, than they were in ſuch conſternation, that moſt of them ran away, imagining perhaps that theſe were implements of ſorcery; for they had performed ſome ceremonies of exorciſm before they approached the Spaniards, ſcattering a powder in the air, and burning ſome of the ſame powder, and endeavouring to make the ſmoke fly towards the Chriſtians.

A few days after, the admiral deſired his brother to go aſhore with ſeveral men to view the town, and obtain ſome knowledge of the country. The moſt remarkable things he obſerved were ſeveral tombs in a great wooden ſtructure covered with canes, in one of which was a dead body embalmed; in another, two bodies wrapt up in cotton ſheets, but without any ill ſcent, and over each tomb was a board, upon which were carved the figures of beaſts, and on ſome of them the effigies of the deceaſed, adorned with plates of gold about their necks, and other ornaments.

Theſe being the moſt civilized Indians in thoſe parts, the admiral ordered ſome of them to be taken, out of whom he choſe two who ſeemed to be the moſt intelligent; the reſt were ſent away with ſome preſents and great civility, and endeavours were uſed to make them ſenſible that their companions were detained for no other reaſon but to ſerve as guides upon that coaſt, and that in a little time they would be ſet at liberty; but the natives believing they were detained through avarice, a number of them came down to the ſhore the next day, and ſent four perſons on board to treat for their ranſom, with a preſent of two wild

hogs, which were very ſmall. Columbus cauſed theſe deputies to be entertained with great civiliy, and though he would not grant their requeſt, he ſent them away well ſatisfied, and amply paid for the hogs; one of which was hunted on the deck by a kind of wild cat of a greyiſh colour, that had been caught in the woods by one of the ſailors, after he had cut off one of its fore legs; this animal leaps like a ſquirrel from tree to tree, and not only faſtens upon the branches with its claws, but even with its tail, by which it frequently ſuſpends itſelf either for ſport or reſt. Theſe hogs, though naturally very fierce, no ſooner ſaw this animal, than they ran terrified about the deck, when the admiral perceiving their fright, ordered one of them to be brought near the cat, which inſtantly twiſted its tail round the hog's ſnout, and faſtening the fore-leg that remained upon its head, would ſoon have diſpatched it, had not the men interpoſed.

On the 5th of October the admiral ſailed into the bay of Caravaro, which is ſix leagues in length, and about three in breadth. Here they found many ſmall iſlands, with channels between them, through ſome of which the ſhips ſailed as it were in lanes, the trees on each ſides bruſhing againſt the ſhrouds. As ſoon as they anchored in this bay, the boats were ſent to one of the iſlands, where there were twenty canoes on the ſhore, the people lying near them quite naked, having only a gold plate about their necks. They expreſſed no ſigns of fear, but for three bells gave a gold plate which weighed ten ducats, and ſaid there was great plenty of that metal on the continent, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore.

The next day the boats were ſent on ſhore upon the continent, and in their way met with two canoes full of people, who refuſing to barter their

gold plates, two of the chief perſons amongſt them were taken, in order that the admiral might obtain ſome intelligence from them by means of the Cariari interpreters. The gold plate worn by one of thoſe men weighed fourteen ducats, and the other's twenty-two, and theſe confirmed what the iſlanders ſaid of the gold, which was to be found at the diſtance of two days journey up in the country. In this bay they took great numbers of fiſh, and on the ſhore they found a large quantity of freſh proviſions, and alſo great plenty of roots and fruit. The men are painted all over of ſeveral colours, as red, black, and white, and had no other covering beſides a narrow cotton cloth which hung round the waiſt.

From this bay the admiral ſailed into another very near it, and on the 17th purſued his voyage twelve leagues farther to the river Guaiga; when, ordering out the boat to go aſhore, the men were furiouſly aſſaulted by above 100 Indians, who ran up to their middles in the ſea, brandiſhing their lances, blowing horns, and throwing ſea-water towards the Spaniards, at whom they alſo ſpouted the juice of ſome ſhrubs they were chewing, with ſigns of deteſtation and defiance. The Spaniards, without either approaching or retreating, endeavoured to appeaſe them, which at length they effected, and at laſt exchanged ſixteen gold plates, worth 165 ducats, for a few bells, and other baubles. However, notwithſtanding this friendly intercourſe, the next day the natives lay in ambuſh for the boats; but perceiving that no body would venture to land without knowing what diſpoſition they were in, they ruſhed into the water, as before, and even threatened to throw their javelins, provided the boats that lay upon their oars did not return to their ſhips. The Spaniards, at length, exaſperated at this inſolent behaviour, wounded

one of them with an arrow: and at the ſame time the admiral, firing one of his guns, ſo terrified them, that they fled with precipitation; when four men landing invited them by ſigns to return, on which laying down their arms, they came back, and very peaceably exchanged their gold plates.

The admiral then proceeded on his voyage, and caſting anchor in the mouth of a great river, the people of the country were ſeen to aſſemble, and ſoon after ſent two men in a canoe to the ſhips, who having talked with the Cariari interpreters, came aboard without any apprehenſions, and by the advice of thoſe Indians gave their gold plates to the admiral, who in return preſented them with ſome trifles. This canoe returning, another appeared with three men, who behaved in the ſame manner, and amity being thus eſtabliſhed, the Spaniards went aſhore, where they found a great number of Indians with their king, who only differed from the reſt in being covered with a large leaf of a tree, becauſe it then rained very hard. This prince, to ſet his ſubjects an example, exchanged his plate, and bid them barter for theirs; which they inſtantly did, and the Spaniards received nineteen plates of pure gold. Here they ſaw an old wall, which ſeemed to be built with ſtone and lime; and this being the firſt part of the Indies where Columbus had diſcovered ſigns of a ſolid and regular ſtructure, he brought away a piece of it as a memorial.

The admiral now ſailing with a freſh gale to the eaſtward, held on his courſe to five towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians ſaid the gold was gathered, and the plates made, which they wore about their necks, and continuing his voyage, he arrived at an harbour, to which he gave the name of Porto-Bello, or Beautiful Port, from its being very ſpacious, and encompaſſed by a fine and populous country. He

entered this harbour on the ſecond of November, paſſing between two ſmall iſlands, within which the ſhips lay cloſe to the ſhore, where he was obliged by the rain and bad weather, to continue ſeven days; during which he was conſtantly viſited by the people in canoes, who came from the adjacent country to barter fine ſpun cotton and proviſions, for pins, points, and other trifles.

On the 9th he ſailed eight leagues to the eaſtward, but the next day was forced four leagues back by ſtreſs of weather, and putting in among the iſlands near the continent where the town of Nombre de Dios now ſtands, called the place Puerto de Baſtimentos, or the Port of Proviſions; becauſe all thoſe ſmall iſlands were covered with corn. Here a boat well manned being ſent in purſuit of a canoe, the Indians were ſo frightened that they threw themſelves into the ſea, and ſwam away, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Spaniards to take ſome of them; for when a boat approached any of theſe Indians they dived like a duck, and came up at the diſtance of a bow ſhot.

Columbus ſtaid here refitting the ſhips until the 23d of November, when he continued his courſe eaſtward, trading with the Indians on the coaſt for proviſions, and ſuch pieces of gold as hung at their ears and noſes. On the 24th he entered a ſmall port, which he named the Retreat, from its being able to contain no more than five or ſix ſhips, and its being only fifteen or twenty paces wide at the mouth. On both ſides, the rocks appeared above water, but the channel between them was ſo deep as not to be fathomed, though if the ſhips inclined to either ſide the men might leap on ſhore. The admiral was induced to enter this confined harbour, by the miſrepreſentations of thoſe who were ſent to view it, whoſe avarice rendered them fond of dealing with the Indians, they were

glad of lying close to the shore, in order to have a constant opportunity of changing trifles for gold.

The Indians at first came very familiarly to trade with the ships, until being provoked by the insolence and dissolute behaviour of the seamen, they began to have recourse to arms, and some skirmishes passed between them. As their numbers increased, their courage rose in proportion, and they at length seemed resolved to board the ships, when the admiral having in vain attempted to appease them by patience and acts of civility, found that he was obliged to alter his behaviour, in order to convince them of his importance, and therefore commanded some of his guns to be fired; but this noise, which they found unattended with any consequence, gave them no apprehensions, and therefore they answered it with shouts, and beating the trees with staves, and by threatening signs shewed that they did not fear the noise. Upon which Columbus ordered one of the guns to be loaded with ball, and fired at a company of these Indians assembled upon a small eminence, when the ball falling in the midst of them made them sensible that he could make use of a thunderbolt as well as of thunder; for they fled with the utmost consternation, and for the future they durst not appear even on the mountains.

These were the best shaped Indians of any they had yet seen; they were tall and slender, without the prominent bellies frequent in these parts. The country afforded but few trees and little grass, and in the harbour there were very large alligators, which went upon the shore to sleep, whence they diffused so strong a scent that it seemed as if all the musk in the world was gathered together. If they found a man sleeping they would drag him to the water to devour him, but were fearful and timorous when attacked.

The ſhips had been nine days confined here by bad weather, when Columbus perceiving that violent winds from the eaſt and north-eaſt continued to blow without ceaſing, and that it was impoſſible to trade any longer with the inhabitants of this coaſt, reſolved to return, in order to obtain ſatisfaction about what he had heard of the mines of Veragua, and therefore on the 5th of December he ſailed back to Porto Bello; but the next day, while he held on his courſe, the wind ſhifted to the weſt; however, not thinking this a ſettled gale, he bore up againſt it for ſome days, during which the weather was ſo extremely boiſterous and unſettled, that the ſailors could ſcarce ſtand upon the deck; they had heavy and inceſſant rains, the air was filled with lightening, and the thunder roared inceſſantly. The men, who were conſtantly wet to the ſkin, and expoſed to all the violence of the ſtorm, began to be terrified, and filled with deſpair, eſpecially on their finding that when the weather ſeemed a little to favour their ſailing to Veragua, the wind veered about, and drove them towards Porto-Bello, and when they were in hopes of entering that harbour, they were beat off again. In the midſt of this danger and diſtraction, they were near being overwhelmed by a water ſpout; and, to complete their misfortunes, they loſt ſight of one of the ſhips, which they concluded was loſt, until they ſaw her again at the end of three dark and diſmal days, in which ſhe had been obliged to caſt anchor, and had afterwards been driven to ſea with the loſs of her anchor and boat.

The men were now not only quite ſpent with cold, hunger, and fatigue, but the ſhip almoſt ſhattered to pieces by the tempeſt, when they were relieved by a calm which laſted two days, during which they were ſurrounded by a prodigious number of ſharks, that would bite at the hook, though

baited only with a red rag. Theſe had a dreadful appearance to the ſuperſtitious ſailors, who imagined that as the ravens are ſaid to ſmell out dead bodies at a great diſtance, ſo theſe ravenous fiſh were an omen of their deſtruction, and were ready to devour them as ſoon as the ſhips ſhould fall to pieces. Many of theſe fiſh were caught, and from the belly of one of them was taken an intire turtle, and from another the whole head of a ſhark, which the ſailors had caught and thrown into the ſea; ſo that the individuals of this ſpecies ſeem to prey upon each other. The ſailors, however, notwithſtanding their apprehenſions, and this fiſh being allowed to make a very indifferent meal, eat them with great eagerneſs; for they had been now eight months at ſea, and had conſumed all their proviſions except their biſcuit, part of which was ſo full of maggots, that many delayed eating it until it was dark, to avoid ſeeing what they were obliged to ſwallow.

On the 17th of December the admiral entered into a large harbour, where he permitted his men to repoſe themſelves for three days; during which, going aſhore, they found that the inhabitants lived in huts built upon the tops of trees, ſticks being laid from bough to bough, and the huts erected upon them: A cuſtom which muſt have ariſen from the fear of wild beaſts, or of land-floods.

In the beginning of January 1503, they caſt anchor near a river, which the admiral named Belem or Bethlem, from his arriving there on the feaſt of the Epiphany. To the weſtward of this river was that of Veragua, the water of which was ſhallow; however, the boat went up it to the town, where they were informed that they ſhould find the gold mines of Veragua ſo often mentioned. The Indians at firſt ſtood upon their guard, in order to oppoſe the landing of the Spaniards; but an Indian

interpreter going aſhore, and repreſenting them in a favourble light, the natives were pacified, and exchanged with them twenty gold plates, ſome hollow pieces of the ſame metal like joints of reeds, and ſome grains of gold that had never been melted; but to enhance their value they pretended they were gathered upon certain mountains at a great diſtance.

On the 9th the admiral's ſhip, attended by one of the other, ſailed up the river Belem, when the Indians ſoon came to barter with the Spaniards, bringing fiſh, which at ſome ſeaſons of the year come up theſe rivers in incredible numbers; they exchanged ſome gold for pins, beads, and hawks bells, and the next day the ſhip was joined by the two others which had ſtaid behind for want of water.

On the third day after their arrival, Bartholomew Columbus went up the river with the boats to a town belonging to a Cacique named Quibio, who hearing of the lieutenant's deſign, came in his canoe to meet him, and having received each other in a friendly manner, diſcourſed by means of their interpreter for a long time together. The next day the ſame prince viſited the admiral, made him ſome preſents, and after a converſation which laſted an hour, during which his people exchanged ſome gold for bells, retired well pleaſed with his reception.

They had lived five days in this friendly manner, when the river ſuddenly ſwelled to ſuch a ſurpriſing height, and ruſhed down with ſuch impetuoſity, that the admiral's ſhip parted her cable, and running foul of the ſhip Galega, brought the foremaſt by the board, and both the veſſels were in danger of periſhing. This ſudden ſwell of the river was ſuppoſed to proceed from a violent ſhower that had fallen upon the mountains of Veragua,

which the admiral named St. Chriſtopher's, from their tops reaching above the clouds. On the 6th of February, the ſhips being caulked and refitted, the admiral ſent his brother with ſixty-eight men in boats to the river Veragua, the mouth of which was at a league's diſtance from that of Belem; when rowing up, they arrived at the Cacique's town, where they ſtaid a whole day, enquiring the way to the mines. In conſequence of the intelligence they received, they, next day, travelled four leagues and a half, and came to a river which on account of its windings they paſſed forty-four times; the day following they arrived at the place to which they were directed, and in two hours time every man had gathered ſome gold about the roots of the trees, which were very thick and of a prodigious height. This ſample was much valued, as none of thoſe who went had any tools to dig, or had before ever gathered any. As the ſole aim of this expedition was to obtain information relating to the mines, they returned well pleaſed to the ſhips, though, as they afterwards learned, the place called the mines from which they had picked it were not thoſe of Veragua, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a town belonging to a people at war with the Cacique Quibio, who had artfully directed the Spaniards to his enemies mines, inſtead of his own.

On the 14th of February the admiral's brother went into the country with forty men, followed by a boat with fourteen, and marched to the river of Urira, ſeven leagues weſt of Belem. The next day he was met by the Cacique, attended by twenty men, who made them a preſent of proviſions and ſome gold plates. During this intercourſe the Indians chewed a dry herb, and ſometimes added to it a ſort of powder. Having reſted a while in this place, the Spaniards and Indians went toge-

ther to the town, whence abundance of people came out to meet them, and a houſe being provided for their lodging, they were hoſpitably entertained. Soon after came the Cacique of a neighbouring town named Durira, attended by a great number of Indians, who brought ſome gold plates to barter, and told the lieutenant that up in the country there were Caciques who had great quantities of gold, and that there were many men armed like the Spaniards.

The next day Don Bartholomew marched with thirty men towards Zobabra, after his having ordered the reſt to return by land to the ſhips. He here ſaw the ground for about ſix leagues covered with maize, and cultivated like the corn fields of Europe. At Zobabra he was kindly entertained by the natives, as he was alſo at another town called Cateba, at both which places he purchaſed ſome gold plates; but having now advanced a conſiderable way from the ſhips, without diſcovering any harbour along the coaſt or river, larger than that of Belem, where he might conveniently ſettle a colony, he returned with a good quantity of gold to the place from which he had taken his departure, and where it was now agreed to make a ſettlement under his command.

Proper diſpoſitions being made, the ſailors began to build, about a cannon ſhot from the mouth of the river Belem, houſes of timber, which they covered with the palm-trees leaves that grew along the ſhore, and a large building was alſo erected to ſerve as a ſtorehouſe and magazine, in which ſeveral pieces of cannon, with powder, proviſions, and other neceſſaries, were lodged for the ſupport of the planters; while a quantity of wine, oil, vinegar, cheeſe and grain, was depoſited on board the ſhip Galega, which was to be left with the lieutenant, with cordage, nets, hooks, and other fiſhing

tackle, for the uſe of the colony. Indeed theſe could not fail of being of ſignal ſervice in a country that abounds with ſuch quantities of fiſh, which are caught by the natives with hooks made of tortoiſeſhell.

The houſes being erected, and proper regulations made for the preſervation of the new colony, the admiral reſolved to return to Spain; but his voyage was effectually prevented by want of water to carry the ſhips out of the river, and by a terrible ſurf that beat upon the ſhore and threatened immediate deſtruction to any veſſel that ſhould approach it: To render theſe circumſtances the more unfortunate, the rains, which alone could ſwell the river, were paſt; the bottoms of the ſhips were ſo worm-eaten that they reſembled honey-combs, and to complete their vexation, one of their interpreters reported that Quibio intended to ſet fire to the houſes of the Spaniards, who, contrary to his inclination, and to that of his people, had made a ſettlement in his dominions.

Upon this occaſion the admiral concerted meaſures with his brother for ſeizing the Cacique with his principal men, in order to carry them to Spain, as hoſtages for the good behaviour of his ſubjects: An expedient, which, however politic, was not at all agreeable to the humanity of Chriſtopher Columbus on other occaſions, and equally inconſiſtent with all the laws of nature and nations. However, on the 30th of March, the lieutenant attended by above ſeventy men proceeded to Veragua, which conſiſted of ſtraggling houſes, and, at a ſmall diſtance from that place, was deſired by a meſſenger from the Cacique not to come up to his houſe, which ſtood upon a hill; but notwithſtanding this requeſt, the lieutenant reſolved to proceed with only five men, ordering the reſt to follow two by two at ſome diſtance, and when they ſhould

hear a muſket fired, to beſet the houſes, and let no body eſcape. On his approaching Quibio's reſidence, he was met by another meſſenger, who entreated him not to enter the houſe, and told him that the Cacique himſelf would come out, though he was wounded by an arrow. Quibio, on his going to the door agreeably to his promiſe, was immediately ſeized by the lieutenant, and the muſket being fired, the houſe was ſoon ſurrounded by the reſt of the Spaniards, and about thirty perſons made priſoners, without the leaſt oppoſition, among whom were the wives and children of the Cacique, with ſome of his principal ſubjects, who offered to ranſom themſelves with a large quantity of gold that was concealed in an adjoining wood. But the lieutenant, diſregarding the offers, ordered them all to be bound and carried on board, before the country ſhould take the alarm; intending himſelf to ſtay with the greateſt part of the men, to ſecure ſome of Quibio's kindred and ſubjects, whom he had not been able to take; he therefore delivered the priſoners to James Sanchez de Cadiz, an able pilot, who with great confidence and alacrity, undertook to carry them on board the admiral. The pilot embarked with them in the boat, when Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, Sanchez, moved by compaſſion, looſed them, but kept the rope with which he was tied in his own hands. The Cacique now finding his hands at liberty, took an opportunity while the pilot was looking another way to plunge into the river, which he did with ſuch violence, that Sanchez quitted the rope in order to ſave himſelf; and as it began to grow dark, and the boat was inſtantly filled with confuſion, it was impoſſible to hear or ſee how he got on ſhore.

The lieutenant perceiving that it would be impoſſible to overtake the fugitive Indians, the next

day returned with the men to the ſhips, and preſented the plunder of Quibio's houſe, which was worth 300 ducats in gold plates, to his brother, who, after deducting the fifth part for their Catholic Majeſties, divided the remainder among thoſe who were employed in this expedition.

Soon after this the rain fell, and the floods coming down, opened the mouth of the river, upon which the admiral ſailed out with three ſhips, leaving one for the ſervice of his brother. He however came to an anchor at a league's diſtance, in order to wait for fair weather, and in the mean time ſent back the boat for water.

Quibio ſeeing that the three ſhips were gone, and being grieved and provoked at the loſs of his wives and children, and alſo exaſperated at the violence offered to himſelf, reſolved openly to attack the ſettlement. The woods by which it was ſurrounded facilitated this enterprize, and enabled the Indians unperceived to reach a ſpot within ten paces of the houſes, from whence they ruſhed upon the Chriſtians with dreadful ſhouts, throwing their javelins, not only at thoſe who appeared, but alſo through the ſlender roofs, ſo that four or five were dangerouſly wounded before the Spaniards were able to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Don Bartholomew, however, being a man of great courage and reſolution, ſallied out upon the enemy with ſeven or eight of his men, and notwithſtanding the Indians ſeveral times rallied, drove them into the wood; but though the Indians would not engage hand to hand, after they had felt the edge of the European ſwords, and the teeth of a dog, by which they were furiouſly attacked, they continued to throw their javelins at a diſtance till they were driven from their covert, and obliged to fly, after they had killed one Spa-

niard, and wounded ſeven others, amongſt whom was the lieutenant.

Captain James Triſtan, whom the admiral had ſent aſhore with the boat, and who appeared juſt as the Indians were obliged to retire into the wood, ſtood an idle ſpectator during the engagement, without ſuffering any of his men to land; and, the battle being over, rowed a full league up the river to take in freſh water, at a place quite covered with wood; when the Indians ſallying from the grove in their canoes, attacked him with a ſhower of javelins, and though the captain ſuſtained their onſet with great gallantry, both he and the whole boat's crew were ſoon ſlain, one perſon only happening to fall over-board in the midſt of the fray, dived to the bottom, reached the ſhore, and paſſed through the wood to the colony, where he gave an account of the diſaſter.

The colony was ſo terrified at this news, that they would immediately have abandoned the ſettlement, and joined the admiral in the ſhip he had left them, had they not been prevented by the lowneſs of the water at the mouth of the river, which was not ſufficient to float their veſſel, and the ſea beat with ſuch violence over the bar, that no boat could be ſent to the admiral with advice of their diſtreſs. He himſelf rode in a very dangerous open road without his long boat, and was ignorant of the unhappy fate of the captain and his crew, until he had the mortification to ſee their bodies driving down the river, covered with wounds and preyed upon by a number of carion crows. This melancholy ſpectacle ſpread great deſpondence amongſt his people, who concluded that the whole colony had periſhed. Mean while the Indians, elated at the advantage they had gained, returned to the attack of the ſettlement, which they carried on day and night without inter-

miſſion, ſo that every Spaniard muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to their reſentment, had they not removed to an open ſtrand, where they formed a baricado of caſks and other lumber, and planted their cannon in ſuch a manner as to make great havock among the enemy, who became terrified at thoſe dreadful inſtruments of ſlaughter.

The admiral waited ten days for fair weather, in order to ſend the only boat that now remained for intelligence, and to add to theſe vexations ſeveral of the Indian priſoners who were confined in the hold burſt open the hatches in the night, leapt into the ſea and ſwam aſhore, and thoſe that remained, being diſappointed in their hopes of eſcaping in the ſame manner, hanged themſelves, by which means they had no hoſtages, by whom they might make a peace with Quibio.

As the weather ſtill continued boiſterous, and the Spaniards on board grew extremely impatient to learn the fate of their companions, one of the ſailors offered to ſwim aſhore, provided he might be carried in the boat to the place where the ſurf began to run high. This propoſal, which was gladly embraced by the Admiral, was ſoon put in execution, and the ſailor having obtained ſufficient intelligence from the colony, ſwam off again, and gave a circumſtantial account of all that had happened, and of the particulars of the diviſions and diſſentions which had now ariſen amongſt the men, who paid no regard to Don Bartholomew's authority, and were unanimous in nothing but their reſolution to leave the place. They deſired to be immediately taken on board, and reſolved, if that was refuſed them, to put to ſea in their own rotten veſſels, ſince they had rather truſt to the mercy of the waves, than continue expoſed to the reſentment of the ſavages. Upon this Columbus agreed to ſend for them, and the weather becoming fa-

vourable, they left the country, taking with them all their goods and effects in the boat and ſome canoes, which they laſhed together, leaving nothing behind them but the hulk of the ſhip, which was unfit for ſervice.

The company being thus to their mutual joy, re-aſſembled, the admiral ſailed to the eaſtward as far as Porto-Bello, where he was obliged to leave one of his ſhips, which was ſo leaky and worm eaten that ſhe could not proceed, and continued his courſe until the 10th of May, when he obſerved two ſmall iſlands, which he named Tortugas, from the great number of turtle found there. Then continuing his courſe thirty leagues to the northward, he arrived at the iſlands called Jardin de la Reyna, or the Queen's Gardens, ten leagues to the ſouth of Cuba, by which time the ſhips were ſo leaky, that the men were harraſſed by working at the pumps, though, as they had ſcarcely any proviſions left, they were but little able to ſupport ſuch fatigue. In this unhappy ſituation they were overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm, in which the ſhip Bermuda ran foul of the admiral, and both were in the greateſt danger of being foundered, and the ſame night they narrowly eſcaped being wrecked upon ſome ſharp rocks.

The wind being at length abated, the admiral ſailed to an Indian town on the coaſt of Cuba, where having purchaſed ſome refreſhments, he ſtood over to Jamaica, pumping and bailing all the way, notwithſtanding which the water roſe up almoſt to the deck. In this ſituation he put into an harbour called Puerto Rueno, but finding no freſh water there, ſteered to the eaſtward into another called Santa Gloria, where finding it impoſſible to keep the ſhips afloat, he ran them aſhore, along ſide of each other, cauſing them to be proped up on each ſide to keep them upright, and ſheds to be made

on the poop and forecaſtle to ſecure the ſailors from the inclemencies of the weather and the attempts of the Indians.

He here made it his ſtudy to oblige the natives, who reſorted in great numbers to the ſhips with what they had to barter, and appointed two perſons to ſuperintend the market, and prevent frauds or abuſes, as well as to divide what was purchaſed equally among the ſailors. This regulation was both agreeable to his own men and to the Indians, who exchanged two ſmall animals like rabits for a bit of tin, and two of their cakes of bread for two green or yellow beads, and things of greater value for a hawk's bell; and ſometimes a Cacique or other conſiderable perſon had a preſent of a pair of ſciſſars, or a ſmall looking glaſs.

The admiral having conſulted with the officers on the beſt means of leaving that iſland, it was agreed to ſend an account of their ſituation to Nicholas de Obando, governor of Hiſpaniola, and to Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, the admiral's factor there, to deſire that a ſhip might be freighted, and ſent to their relief at the admiral's expence. Two canoes were choſen for this dangerous expedition, in one of which James Mendes de Segura, the admiral's chief ſecretary embarked, with ſix Spaniards and ten Indians to row it, and Bartholomow Fieſco, a Genoeſe gentleman, went with the ſame number of hands on board the other, with orders to return immediately with the news of their ſafe arrival. They then rowed to the eaſtermoſt point of Jamaica, under the conduct of the admiral's brother, who took care to ſupply them with every thing neceſſary for the voyage, which was a very extraordinary one to be performed by canoes, ſince the diſtance between the two iſlands amounted to thirty-three leagues, without any intervening land, except a ſmall rock or iſland about eight

leagues from the coaſt of Hiſpaniola. Don Bartholomew made them wait for a calm, and then ordering them to proſecute their voyage, ſtaid until they were out of ſight.

They launched out at night, the Indians who rowed ſometimes leaping into the water to cool themſelves, and then returning to the oar again. The ſecond day after their departure they all began to be much tired; but the two chiefs encouraged the men, adviſing them to eat in order to recover their ſtrength. The Indians, being heated by the ſun and by labouring at the oar, ſoon emptied their calibaſhes of water, and the heat increaſing, their thirſt increaſed with it, ſo that by noon they had no ſtrength left. They were then relieved by the commanders frequently giving them ſomething to drink out of their rundlets, which ſupported them until the cool of the evening. They were ſoon greatly diſtreſſed with the apprehenſion that they had loſt their way, and had miſſed a little iſland eight leagues from Hiſpaniola, where they expected to refreſh themſelves: and that afternoon they threw an Indian over-board, who died with thirſt; others lay ſtretched out and quite diſabled, while the reſt expected death, who held ſalt-water in their mouths to cool them; but could receive no comfort from it.

They proceeded the ſecond night without ſeeing the iſland, until the moon riſing it was happily diſcovered, when they all joined in encouraging the Indians, ſhewed them the land, and gave them ſmall ſips of water, which ſo revived their ſpirits, that by break of day they arrived at the iſland. They however found it to be a ſolid rock about half a league in compaſs, without a ſingle tree or ſpring of water; yet going about from one cliff to another, they collected in the hollows more than was neceſſary to quench their thirſts; for being

ſcorched with draught, they drank ſo much that ſome of the poor Indians died upon the ſpot, and others fell ſick. There they ſtaid until the afternoon, and having reſted and refreſhed themſelves with the ſhell-fiſh they picked up along the ſhore, went on board in the evening, and ſteered to the neareſt land of Hiſpaniola, where they arrived early in the morning. Fieſco, having reſted two days, was deſirous of returning to the admiral, according to his promiſe, but was obliged to deſiſt, becauſe neither the ſailors nor Indians would accompany him in the voyage. Mendes, though he laboured under a quartan ague, occaſioned by his ſufferings at ſea, immediately ſet out for Xaragua, where he informed the governor of the admiral's ſituation, and, after much importunity, obtained leave to purchaſe a ſhip at St. Domingo.

To return to the iſland of Jamaica: Soon after the departure of the canoes, the men who were left behind began to grow ſickly, in conſequence of a change of proviſions, and the fatigue they had ſuffered, whence a ſpirit of diſcontent diffuſed itſelf among them. They now privately murmured and caballed againſt the admiral, whom they accuſed of being the cauſe of all their misfortunes. The chief promoters of theſe diſcontents were two brothers whoſe names were Porras, one of whom had been captain of the ſhip Bermuda, and the other purſer of the fleet. And theſe having gained over forty-eight of the men, reſolved to declare their intentions. Accordingly on the 2d of January, 1504, captain Francis de Porras, whom they had choſen for their leader, went upon the quarter-deck, and addreſſing himſelf to the admiral, aſked, 'what is the reaſon, my lord, that you will not return to Spain, but keep us here to periſh?' From this inſolent queſtion Columbus readily ſuſpected that a mutiny was formed, and very calmly

replied, that he did not ſee how it was poſſible for them to return to Spain, until they were aſſiſted by a veſſel from Hiſpaniola, and that they well knew, he had already, by their unanimous advice, ſent for a ſhip, and if they had any better method to offer, they might propoſe it. Francis de Porras replied, that there was no need of much adviſing, and that he might embark immediately or ſtay behind, and then turning his back, added, I will go to Spain with all that will follow me, and being immediately ſeconded by all the mutineers, after cauſing much confuſion on board the ſhip, ſeized ten canoes which the admiral had bought of the Indians, and being joined by many who were ſick, went to the eaſtern point of Jamaica, whence Mendes and Fieſco had departed for Hiſpaniola. In their way they committed all manner of outrages upon the poor Indians, whom they adviſed to apply for redreſs to the admiral, and to put him to death if he refuſed to give them ſatisfaction, adding that his deſign in ſtaying was to involve them in ſuch miſeries as he had already entailed upon the inhabitants of the other iſlands.

Having reached the point, they attempted to paſs over to Hiſpaniola with ſome Indians whom they had compelled to go on board every canoe to ſerve as rowers; but they had not got four leagues from land, when the wind which was contrary beginning to freſhen, and the ſea to riſe, they thought fit to lighten the canoes, which were heavy laden, by throwing what they had over-board, except ſome proviſions, water, and their arms, and at laſt the poor Indians that rowed. Theſe unhappy people ſwam until they were weary, and then hung by their canoes to recover themſelves, when the barbarous ruffians cut off their hands, and thus eighteen of theſe poor creatures periſhed, and none would have eſcaped, had not theſe inhuman mon-

ſters for their own ſakes kept a few to row them back to Jamaica.

On their returning aſhore, ſome were for taking the advantage of the eaſterly wind and currents for paſſing over to Cuba, whence they would have a ſhort cut to Hiſpaniola: others for returning and making peace with the admiral, or depriving him by force of all he had in his poſſeſſion. But it was agreed by a majority of voices, that they ſhould wait for a calm, and then make another attempt to paſs directly to Hiſpaniola. They ſtaid a month or ſix weeks waiting for this opportunity at an Indian town near that cape, during which they plundered the poor natives; but having made two unſucceſsful efforts to perform the voyage, quitted their canoes, and rambled from place to place, ſometimes bartering with the people for proviſions, and ſometimes taking them by force.

Chriſtopher Columbus exerted all his addreſs to remove the bad impreſſions made by the mutineers on the minds of the Indians, by which means he engaged them to ſupply him with proviſions, and at the ſame time employed his humanity in the relief of the ſick, all of whom recovered: but his being conſtantly ſupplied with proviſions producing a ſcarcity amongſt the Indians, who ſowed little more than was juſt neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, they began to grow remiſs in their attendance, and he being no longer plentifully ſupplied, more of his men revolted, and the natives who were already ſtocked with the commodities brought by the Spaniards, no longer conſidered Columbus as in a ſituation that commanded reſpect or obedience.

In this dilemma the admiral fell upon a very extraordinary expedient for retrieving his character and affairs with theſe ſavages. As he knew that there would be an eclipſe of the moon within three

days, he ſent an Indian of Hiſpaniola, who was on board and ſpoke Spaniſh, to aſſemble the Cacique and principal men of that diſtrict, in order to confer with them on an affair on which they were nearly concerned, and they obeying the ſummons the day before the eclipſe, he told them by his interpreter, that he and his people were chriſtians, and believed in God who created Heaven and Earth, rewarded the righteous and puniſhed the wicked, and therefore would not ſuffer the rebellious Spaniards to paſs over to Hiſpaniola, though he had conducted Mendes and Fieſco to that iſland: that the ſame Almighty Being was diſpleaſed at the Indians for neglecting to ſupply his diſtreſſed ſervants with proviſions in exchange for their commodities, and was therefore determined to puniſh them with peſtilence and famine, as a proof of which God would give a token of his anger in the ſky, and that very night they ſhould ſee the moon riſing with a bloody aſpect to point out the puniſhment God would inflict upon them.

This prediction had different effects upon the Indians, ſome of whom went away in a fright, while others laughed at it as an idle ſtory; but on their perceiving the moon actually eclipſed, and darkneſs encreaſing as ſhe roſe, they were univerſally filled with conſternation, and running from all quarters loaden with proviſions, intreated the admiral to intercede with God, and prevail on him to be no more angry with them, and that for the future they would take care to ſupply all his wants.

The admiral replied, that he would offer up his prayers for them, and then ſhutting himſelf up till the eclipſe was at the height and ready to decreaſe, told them that he had been offering up his petitions to Heaven for their preſervation; and that God hath been ſo good as to forgive them, on their promiſe of being kind and hoſpitable to the

chriſtians, and as a teſtimony of his forgiveneſs they ſhould ſee the moon by degrees reſume her former ſplendor. In ſhort, the Indians perceiving the eclipſe diſappear, praiſed the God of the chriſtians, returned the admiral many thanks, and continued to ſupply him plentifully with proviſions; for though ſome of them had formerly ſeen ſuch eclipſes, they all thought it impoſſible to foretel them, without an immediate correſpondence with the Deity, and therefore conſidered Columbus as in a peculiar manner the favourite of Heaven.

Eight months having elapſed, ſince the departure of Mendes and Fieſco, without the admiral's obtaining the leaſt intelligence of them, the people, ſuppoſing they had either periſhed at ſea, or been killed by the Indians of Hiſpaniola in their way to St. Domingo, began to be extremely dejected, and their fears were confirmed by a canoe which they found overſet and driven by the current upon the coaſt. Theſe apprehenſions encreaſing, at length produced a ſecond conſpiracy, headed by one Bernard, an apothecary of Valencia, and two of his companions, who, in imitation of the other mutineers, forming a ſcheme for deſerting the admiral: but its execution was prevented by the arrival of a veſſel ſent by the governor, of Hiſpaniola. The captain, whoſe name was James de Eſcobar, having come to anchor near the wrecks, came in his boat to deliver a letter with compliments from the governor, and preſented the admiral with a caſk of wine and two flitches of bacon, and theſe being delivered, Eſcobar weighed anchor and ſailed back the ſame evening.

Columbus was greatly mortified at his abrupt departure; but however made uſe of this event, to put an end to this ſecond conſpiracy; for he told the men, that as he had reſolved not to go away

without them, and as that little caravel was not ſufficient to carry them all, Eſcobar went away ſo ſuddenly that he might loſe no time in bringing them relief. This declaration had ſuch an effect upon the conſpirators, that they immediately laid aſide all thoughts of their deſigns ; but the true reaſon of the ſhip's arrival was, that Lares, governor of Hiſpaniola, was apprehenſive that the admiral would, upon his return to Spain, be re-inſtated in his government, and had ſent Eſcobar to obſerve his ſituation, and whether he might not eaſily be deſtroyed. However, from this caravel Columbus received certain intelligence of the ſafe arrival of Mendes and Fieſco at Hiſpaniola, and did not doubt but that in conſequence of their remonſtrances, he ſhould be ſpeedily relieved.

The admiral being deſirous of reducing the mutineers who had behaved in ſo ſcandalous and baſe a manner, rather by fair means than by force, ſent two perſons to acquaint them with the advice he had received, to deſire them to return and to let them know, that, in that caſe, no notice ſhould be taken of what had happened : but Francis de Porras, dreading the conſequences of a re-union, met theſe meſſengers at a diſtance, and anſwered, that they would not truſt the admiral ; but would behave themſelves peaceably in the iſland if he would promiſe to procure a ſhip to carry them off. Or if he had but one, aſſign one half of it to them for their own conveyance, and give them an half ſhare of the cloaths and commodities that were ſtill in his poſſeſſion, ſince they had loſt all their own effects, otherwiſe they would come and take the whole by force of arms. As for the caravel from Hiſpaniola, they aſſerted it was only a deluſion, which the admiral, who was a great migician, had raiſed by enchantment.

The mutineers actually resolved to put their threats in execution, and marched to an Indian village within a quarter of a league of the wrecks, when the admiral being informed of their design, sent his brother with 50 men well armed to expostulate with them and persuade them to return to their duty; but to refrain from all acts of hostility till they should be first attacked. Don Bartholomew posted himself on a rising ground within bow-shot of the mutineers, and then sent the two messengers the admiral had employed before to offer terms of peace; but the mutineers treating this condescension as the effect of fear, they fell upon his men with great confidence of victory: six of the boldest men having solemnly sworn to fight their way to the lieutenant, whose death they imagined would disconcert his followers. However they were disappointed, for at the very first charge five of them were slain. Francis de Porras boldly singled out the lieutenant, and at one blow clove his target down to his hand, which he wounded: but not being able suddenly to recover his sword was made prisoner, after his having received several wounds. The lieutenant then rushed upon the enemy, and being seconded by his men, obliged them to fly with precipitation, and having obtained a compleat victory, returned to the wreck with a good number of prisoners.

The next day the fugitives sent a petition to the admiral, in which they confessed their fault, begged pardon, and promised to serve him faithfully for the future; and this they solemnly swore to perform. The Admiral instantly granted them a free pardon, and took them again into his protection; but to prevent future animosities, kept Francis de Porras a close prisoner, and appointed a proper person to command and lead them about the island, in order the better to procure subsistence

in exchange for the commodities with which he cauſed them to be ſupplied

In this poſture were affairs in Jamaica, where the admiral had been a full year, when a ſhip arrived freighted by James Mendes, attended by a caravel, and Columbus embarking with his whole company on the 21ſt of June, 1504, ſet ſail for Hiſpaniola, but the wind and current being contrary, they had a troubleſome voyage, and did not reach St. Domingo till the 13th of Auguſt. The governor with all the city went out to meet him, paying him many compliments, and lodged him in his own houſe, but this outward ſhew of reſpect was mere affectation, for he cauſed Francis de Porras to be ſet at liberty, and threatened to puniſh thoſe who had adhered to the admiral in his greateſt dangers.

Columbus being ſenſible of the deceitful manner in which he was treated, and of the true motives of the governor's behaviour, choſe to conceal his reſentment, prepared for his departure, and on the 12th of September embarked on board a ſhip provided by his agents, and alſo took with him the veſſel that had brought him and his people from Jamaica; but they were no ſooner out of port than the mainmaſt of the leſſer veſſel came by the board. Upon which he ordered her back to St. Domingo, and continued his voyage in the other. He had not however been long at ſea before he met with a violent tempeſt, wherein all on board expected every moment to periſh, and in which they loſt their main maſt; but making a jury maſt of the yard, they continued their voyage, and after being expoſed to another ſtorm that carried away their foremaſt, arrived at the port of St. Lucar.

Columbus upon his landing was greatly afflicted at the news of the death of his beſt friend and only patroneſs, queen Iſabella; for though king

Ferdinand always treated him with ſome degree of reſpect, he well knew, that he was far from having any real kindneſs for him, or ever any inclination to do him juſtice. That prince thought the advantages he had ſtipulated for himſelf were too conſiderable, and therefore, inſtead of fulfilling his engagement offered him a large eſtate in Spain in exchange for what was his due in the Weſt-Indies. Columbus, who was confined to his bed was extremely diſpleaſed at this treatment: but while he was endeavouring to obtain his juſt demands, his ſolicitations were interrupted by king Ferdinand's taking a journey from Valladolid to Laredo to wait for his ſon-in-law king Philip, and queen Johannah his daughter, and before Ferdinand's return, Columbus's illneſs increaſing, he died on the 20th of May, 1506, aged ſixty four. His body was conveyed to the monaſtery of the Carthuſians at Seville, where ſome authors ſay that he was magnificently interred in the cathedral of that city, and a monument erected to his memory, on which is the following inſcription,

A Castilia, ya Leon,
Nueuo Mundo Dio Colon.
In Engliſh.
To Caſtile *and* Leon,
Columbus *gave a New World.*

Others aſſert that his body was carried from the above monaſtery to the city of St. Domingo in Hiſpaniola, and that he lies interred in the chancel of the cathedral, which may probably be true, notwithſtanding the above monument erected to his honour at Seville.

Thus died this truly great man, who was the ſon of a woolcomber, of Congureto a village in the territory of Genoa: by his abilities he not only raiſed himſelf and his family to nobility, but rendered himſelf by his diſcoveries the greateſt man of

the age in which he lived. He was however in many reſpects treated with ingratitude both by the king and thoſe who were under his own command, and it is no ſmall blemiſh to king Ferdinand's character, that he did not do juſtice to his merit, but always meanly endeavoured to falſify his engagements with him. To Columbus juſtly belonged the honour of giving a name to the new World, which from him ought to have been called Columba, while the name of America was beſtowed on what he diſcovered from that of Americus Veſpucius, who had no juſt title to that honour. Columbus by diſcovering a new world, opened new ſources of commerce; he ſettled Hiſpaniola; took a view of Cuba; viſited and reſided for a conſiderable time in Jamaica; beſtowed the name of St. John on the iſland of Porto Rico; and diſcovered almoſt all that could be properly called the Weſt-Indies. He indeed but barely ſaw the continent, but then he ſaw both parts of it, and the iſthmus that unites them: and left behind him ſchemes for extending theſe diſcoveries, and conjectures on the conſequences that might attend them.

We ſhall conclude this account with a diſcription of his perſon, and the character given of him by a Spaniſh hiſtorian juſtly eſteemed for his fidelity. "Columbus was tall of ſtature, had a long "viſage and a majeſtic aſpect, an acquiline noſe, "grey eyes, and a clear and ruddy complexion. "When young his hair and beard were fair; but "the many hardſhips he ſuffered ſoon turned them "grey. He was a man of wit and pleaſantry, was "eloquent in diſcourſe, and yet moderately grave. "His affability to ſtrangers, and his diſcreet con-"verſation, gained him the affection of every in-"genuous mind; he had an air of authority and "grandeur that attracted reſpect. He was very "ſtrict in religion according to the mode of his

" country, and obliged ſuch as were under his " command to ſhew at leaſt a decent regard to it. " He had an earneſt concern for the converſion " of the Indians, and endeavoured as much as was " in his power to allure them, by obliging the " Spaniards to lead a life in ſome meaſure agreeable " to the faith they profeſſed. He was a man of " undaunted courage ; was fond of great enter- " prizes ; temperate in eating and drinking, and " modeſt in his dreſs ; he was patient, and ready " to forgive wrongs, and only deſirous that offen- " ders ſhould be ſenſible of their faults. He re- " mained unmoved amidſt the many troubles and " adverſities that attended him, ever relying on " the Divine Providence. In ſhort, had he in " much earlier times performed ſo wonderful an " enterprize as the diſcovery of the new World, he " would probably have had not only ſtatues and " temples erected to his honour, but ſome ſtar " would have been dedicated to him, as was done " to Hercules and Bachus. However, his name " will be remembred as long as the world endures."

THE

Diſcoveries of the Spaniards

FROM

THE DEATH OF COLUMBUS,

TO

CORTES's EXPEDITION.

CHAPTER I.

The State of Hiſpaniola under the Government of Nicholas de Obando. Porto Rico ſettled by Juan Ponce de Leon. Don Diego Columbus being made Governor of Hiſpaniola, forms a Pearl Fiſhery near the ſmall Iſland of Cubagua.

AT the death of Chriſtopher Columbus, Nicholas de Obando continued governor of Hiſpaniola, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by making draughts of the coaſts from a ſurvey which he had cauſed to be taken, and by dividing the Indians among the Spaniards, who conſidered them as their vaſſals. Gold was almoſt their only purſuit, and ſuch quantities of that valuable metal were found, that there were annually melted in the iſland more than the value of 150,000l. ſterling, and yet the treaſure was far from enriching thoſe that were employed in amaſſing it; for the value of the gold in Hiſpaniola decreaſing there in proportion to its plenty, and as many lived luxuriouſly and upon credit, it was often ſeized at the

melting times for their debts, and was frequently insufficient to satisfy the demands of their creditors.

Mean while Juan Ponce de Leon, a Spanish gentleman, who had one of the provinces under his command, being informed by the Indians that St. John de Porto Rico was rich in gold, obtained a licence from Obando for planting a colony in it. In consequence of this he landed in the dominions of the greatest Cacique in the island, with some Spaniards and Indians, and was kindly entertained by him and his relations, who, as a peculiar mark of their friendship, changed names with him. This Cacique, at Ponce's desire, conducted him all over the island, and shewed him the rivers in which gold was usually found. Ponce afterwards left some Spaniards, whom he recommended to the Cacique and his mother, and sailing back to Hispaniola, carried samples of the gold to Obando; then returning with fresh supplies, he had the pleasure to find, that those he had left had been well entertained by a friendly Cacique during his absence.

While Ponce de Leon was thus employed in settling Porto Rico, Obando was recalled, and Don Diego Columbus came as his father's successor, to take upon himself the government of Hispaniola, bringing with him from Spain a new Governor for Porto Rico; but Ponce disputing his authority, the young admiral set them both aside, and appointed Michael Cerron Governor, and Michael Diaz his lieutenant; however, after this, Ponce, by the interest of his friend Obando, procured a commission from Spain, and returning to Porto Rico, easily found pretences for seizing Cerron and Diaz, whom he sent prisoners into Spain, and then prosecuted his design of conquering the island: but though he found this a more difficult task than he had imagined, the poor Indians, at last, in spite of the kindness with which they had treated

him, were ſubdued, and entirely enſlaved. Soon after which Ponce de Leon was deprived of his poſt; for Cerron and Diaz, preſenting a petition to the court of Spain, and being ſtrongly ſupported by Columbus's intereſt, were ſent back in order to poſſeſs their former employments. Ponce, being thus reduced to the ſtate of a private man, fitted out two ſhips for making new diſcoveries, and on the 2d of April, 1512, fell in with land unknown to the Spaniards, in the latitude of 30. 8. and believing it to be an iſland, named it Florida, from its beautiful appearance and many pleaſant groves, or from his diſcovering it on Eaſter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Paſcha Florida, it being the fineſt ſeaſon for flowers.

But to return to Porto Rico. The Indians of that iſland were at length extirpated by the cruelties of the Spaniards; but for what reaſon is very hard to ſay, ſince the gold which they had been employed in gathering was all exhauſted.

The iſland of Porto Rico is 120 miles in length and ſixty in breadth, and its northern coaſt is in the 18th degree of latitude, and its ſouthern in the 17th degree. The country conſiſts of a pleaſing variety of hills and vallies, woods and meadows, abounding in all the tropical fruits, and well watered with ſprings and rivers; but like other countries within the tropics, it has periodical rains and ſtorms, and hurricanes between midſummer and Michaelmas.

At length Diego Columbus made a ſettlement on the iſland of Cubagua, which he named The Iſland of Pearls, and eſtabliſhed a pearl fiſhery on the coaſt, that ſoon became ſo conſiderable, that in ſome years the king's fifth of the pearls was valued at 15,000 ducats.

This iſland, which is 300 leagues from Hiſpaniola, and is ſituated in about 10d. north latitude,

is three leagues in compaſs, and has a dry and barren ſoil that produces no graſs, and affords only a few guiacum trees and ſhrubs. It had no land animals, except a few quadrupeds like rabbits, and no birds but ſuch as are proper to the ſea, which is not at all extraordinary, as it has not a ſingle ſpring of freſh water.

CHAPTER II.

Alonzo de Hojeda and Diego de Nicueſſa, obtaining patents for making new diſcoveries, ſail for the Weſt-Indies. Hojeda, landing at Carthagena, and marching into the country, has many of his men cut off, and he himſelf narrowful eſcapes; but is aſſiſted and revenged by Nicueſſa. Hojeda afterwards forms the ſettlement of St. Sebaſtian, which being unable to ſupport, he retires to Hiſpaniola, where he dies of want, while the colony is ſaved by the prudent advice of Nunez de Balboa. Mean while Diego de Nicueſſa plants the colony of Nombre de Dios, but meets with many misfortunes and dies miſerably.

ABOUT this time Alonzo de Hojeda, who had ſerved under Chriſtopher Columbus, petitioning for a patent for making new ſettlements, obtained a promiſe of a grant of all that had been diſcovered on the continent. But Diego Nicueſſa, a man of greater wealth, interpoſing, ſtopped the grant, and obtained half of it for himſelf, the court allowing the former all the country between cape de la Vela and the gulph of Darien, under the name of New Andaluſia; and the latter, the country from that gulph to cape Gracias a Dios, under the name of Caſtilla del Oro, or Golden Caſtile, without any mention being made in theſe grants of Diego Columbus, to whom thoſe countries of right

belonged, on account of their being diſcovered by his father.

Each of theſe adventurers fitted out two veſſels, with which they ſailed to St. Domingo, in Hiſpaniola, where they quarelled about their reſpective rights; but their diſputes being at length adjuſted, they left the iſland in the latter end of the year 1510. Hojeda took on board Francis Pizarro, who afterwards conquered Peru, and in a few days arrived at Caramari, ſince called Carthagena, where the Indians were prepared to oppoſe him, on account of the injuries they had received from ſeveral Spaniſh adventurers, who, under the pretence of trading with them, had baſely ſeized, carried off, and enſlaved ſeveral of the natives.

Theſe people were of a large ſtature, the men wore their own hair down to their ears; that of the women was very long, and both ſexes are very expert at ſhooting with the bow. Hojeda immediately ſent them a few prieſts, with ſome of the Indians of Hiſpaniola, who ſpoke their language; theſe meſſengers had orders to perſuade them to be peaceable, and ſubmit to the Spaniſh yoke, and to leave off their idolatry, cruelty, and other vices; though Hojeda reſolved, in caſe they proved obſtinate, not only to make war upon them, but to make them ſlaves.

Hojeda began to barter with them for gold, with Spaniſh toys; but finding they were preparing to attack him, fell upon them, made a great ſlaughter, took ſome priſoners, and found a ſmall quantity of gold in ſome of the towns of which he made himſelf maſter. He then marched to a town four leagues within land, whither thoſe had retired who had eſcaped from the laſt battle. He found them upon their guard armed with bows, poiſoned arrows, rods which they threw like darts, ſwords made of hard wood, and targets. He how-

ever attacked the place, killed great numbers, took ſixty priſoners, whom he ſent to the ſhips, and continued to purſue thoſe who fled. The inhabitants of a town called Yarbaco, hearing of his approach, withdrew with their effects into the mountains: thither the Spaniards came, but finding no body to oppoſe them, put themſelves off their guard, and diſperſed about the country, which being obſerved by the Indians, they fell upon them when they leaſt expected it, and the Spaniards being divided into ſmall parties, were every where cut off with flights of poiſoned arrows. Hojeda however, with ſeveral of his men, for ſome time maintained the fight, often kneeling the better to cover himſelf with his target; but at length ſeeing moſt of his people killed, he ruſhed through the thickeſt of the Indians, and running with great ſwiftneſs into the woods, proceeded towards the ſea in ſearch of his ſhips. John de la Caſa, Hojeda's pilot and friend, got into a houſe where he defended himſelf at the door until the Spaniards who were with him were ſlain, and himſelf ſo wounded as to be unable to ſtand; when looking about him, he obſerved a Spaniard ſtill maintaining his ground, whom he directed to ſave himſelf by flight, and to tell Hojeda all that happened. This advice the man immediately followed; but Hojeda and he were the only perſons that eſcaped, all the reſt, amounting to ſeventy Spaniards, being ſlain.

Happily for Hojeda, Nicueſſa now appeared with his two veſſels on the coaſt, and was no ſooner informed of what had happened, than he ſent for his rival, and generouſly told him, that in this caſe they ought to forget their diſputes, and only to remember that they were Spaniards, and gentlemen, and that he would therefore revenge his loſs. They accordingly united, and landing 400 men, marched againſt the Indians, burnt the town

of Yarbaco, ſeized a vaſt number of priſoners, and as much gold as amounted to 7000 pieces of eight to each of the commanders.

After this victory they parted in order to purſue their ſeparate plans. Hojeda fixed a ſettlement on the eaſtern promontory of the gulph of Darien, and gave the town the name of St. Sebaſtian; becauſe that ſaint being ſaid to be martyred by the poiſoned arrows of the infidels, he thought him a fit patron to defend him from the like weapons of the Indians: But finding that the natives were exaſperated at his making a ſettlement on the coaſt, he ſent captain Enciſo in one of the ſhips to Hiſpaniola, with orders to bring him as large ſupply of men and proviſions as poſſible, and in the mean time drew intrenchments about the town for his own ſecurity. However, as he ſoon wanted neceſſaries, he was obliged to make excurſions into the country, by which means many of his people were killed by the poiſoned arrows of the natives, and the colony was reduced to a moſt wretched condition; for they had the proſpect of being ſoon famiſhed if they remained within their works, and were ſure of meeting with death if they ventured out of them.

Juſt as the Spaniards were reduced to deſpair, they with equal joy and amazement beheld a ſhip enter the port. It belonged to a pirate, named Bernard de Talavera, and Hojeda immediately buying the ſhip's cargo, treated the captain with ſuch civility, that he readily entered into his ſervice: but notwithſtanding the greatneſs of this unexpected relief, their proviſions were ſoon conſumed; the Indians became more troubleſome than before, and no ſuccours arriving from Hiſpaniola, they were again reduced to deſpair.

In this extremity, it was at length reſolved that Hojeda himſelf ſhould ſail to St. Domingo, in order

to procure ſupplies; therefore leaving the colony under the command of Francis Pizarro, he embarked on board the pirate veſſel, and put to ſea, but now behaving haughtily to captain Talavera, the latter not only deprived him of all command, but clapped him in irons. A dreadful ſtorm however ariſing, the crew, depending on his ſkill, ſet him at liberty, and by his direction ſaved their lives, by running the ſhip aſhore on the coaſt of Cuba, from whence there is a ſhort paſſage to Hiſpaniola: but Talavera not daring to go thither, prevailed on Hojeda to venture a voyage with him to Jamaica in a canoe, which they were ſo happy as to perform.

After a ſhort ſtay at Jamaica, the governor, at Hojeda's deſire, ſent him to St. Domingo, where he found that captain Enciſo had ſet ſail for St. Sebaſtian's; but his own credit was there ſo low, that notwithſtanding his being one of the braveſt men that ever ſailed from Spain to America, he ſoon died for want, and Talavera ſtaying too long at Jamaica, Columbus cauſed him to be apprehended, tried, and hanged for piracy.

In this interval, Pizarro with the men under his command quitted St. Sebaſtian's and ſteered to Carthagena, where they had the happineſs to find captain Enciſo, who had juſt arrived there with two ſhips, and a conſiderable reinforcement, and immediately returned with them to St. Sebaſtian's; but there they had the misfortune of being ſhipwrecked, and of finding the town reduced to aſhes. They however rebuilt it as well as they were able; but though they ſaved out of the ſtranded veſſels, as much of the proviſions and other neceſſaries as poſſible, they were ſoon again reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs by war and famine, and, as before, hunger frequently forced them out, while the natives conſtantly drove them back with the loſs

of ſome of their men: but from this terrible diſtreſs they were relieved by the dexterity and preſence of mind of a very extraordinary man brought by Enciſo.

Nunez or Nugnez de Balboa, a perſon of a good family, great abilities, and a liberal education, had formerly ſailed along that coaſt with Baſtidas, and had afterwards obtained a good ſettlement in Hiſpaniola, where having committed ſome irregularities, he was in danger of being put to death. In theſe unfortunate circumſtances he cauſed himſelf to be put on board Enciſo's ſhip in a bread caſk, and after having remained there four days, ventured at laſt to make his appearance, when the ſhip was an hundred leagues at ſea. The captain, who had been ordered not to carry any offenders out of the iſland, was extremely vexed at ſeeing him, and threatened to ſet him on ſhore in the firſt deſert place he came at; but the principal perſons on board interceding with him, Enciſo was at laſt pacified, and granted him his protection, which however did not efface, from Nunez's memory, the uſage he had received.

This perſon obſerving that the company were in deſpair and knew not how to act, endeavoured to encourage them, by maintaining that they were not in ſo deſperate a condition as they imagined; obſerving that when he was upon this coaſt before, with Baſtidas, they ſailed to the bottom of the gulph, where they ſaw a very large town, ſituated in a fruitful ſoil, and in a fine climate; that it was indeed inhabited by warlike Indians; but as they did not make uſe of poiſoned arrows, he adviſed them to get off their ſtranded brigantines, and endeavour to ſail thither.

This advice being approved was immediately followed; and they ſailed to the river called by the Indians Darien, where having viewed the place,

they found every thing according to his deſcription. The inhabitants and their Cacique, being informed that the Spaniards were coming, ſecured their wives and children, and with 500 men waited for the invaders on a little hill; but the Spaniards fell upon them, ſoon put them to flight, and then proceeded to the town, which to their great joy was full of proviſions. The next day they marched up the country and the neighbouring mountains, and found many houſes, but no inhabitants, they being all fled. They however ſeized veſſels, houſhold goods, ſhort petticoats of cotton, both ſpun and unſpun, and about 10,000 pieces of fine gold.

The ſucceſs of this enterprize gained Nunez much reputation, and he began to be in very high eſteem. It was now unanimouſly agreed to ſettle a colony there, and to call it Santa Mariael Antiqua del Darien, or St. Mary the Ancient of Darien. The firſt being a name of a church at Seville, and the latter the Indian name of the river.

Nunez now ſecretly contrived, in concert with his friends, to depoſe Enciſo; who himſelf ſoon forwarded his ſcheme, by giving orders that no man ſhould trade with the Indians for gold, upon pain of death; which raiſing a ſuſpicion that he intended to monopolize the trade of that valuable metal, they threw off all ſubjection to him, alleging that his authority was expired. They now choſe magiſtrates like thoſe in Spain; Nunez de Balboa and Zamadis were elected alcades, and Valdivia was appointed Regidor; but ſoon diſliking this form of government, new debates aroſe, which were terminated by the arrival of Roderic Henriquez de Colmenares with two ſhips, with proviſions, military ſtores, and 70 men on board.

This officer, who was carrying ſupplies to Nicueſſa, had put into a port at 50 or 60 leagues diſtance from this place, and ſending his men on

ſhore to take in water, they were ſuddenly attacked by 70 Indians, who wounded 45 of his people with poiſoned arrows, and ſtaved the boat. The Spaniards however ſwam to the ſhips, though all of them died of their wounds except one. Seven of the Spaniards however hid themſelves in a great hollow tree, in order to ſwim to the ſhip at night; but thoſe on board ſuppoſing they had been ſlain, ſet ſail for the bay of Uraba, or Darien, in ſearch of Nicueſſa. Colmenares meeting noboby on the eaſt ſide of the bay, where he expected to have found either Hojeda's or Nicueſſa's men, he was much ſurprized, and ſuſpected they were all dead; he however cauſed ſome pieces of cannon to be fired, and fires to be lighted on the tops of the rocks, which being obſerved by the ſettlement at Santa Maria, they made ſignals, upon which he went to them, as we have already related, and generouſly diſtributing his proviſions among them without diſtinction, brought them to agree to ſend for Nicueſſa, in order to make him their governor.

We ſhall now return to Diego Nicueſſa, who after his lieving Alonzo de Hojeda, whom he had ſo generouſly aſſiſted, met with a violent tempeſt, when Lopez de Olano, his lieutenant perceiving the ſhips ſeparated, formed the deſign of ſetting up for himſelf, and leaving his patron to ſhift as he could; but this failing, he ſailed to Veragua, the place of rendezvous, where he endeavoured to perſuade the people to abandon their original deſign, and to return to Hiſpaniola, alleging that Nicueſſa, and the men on board with him, had doubtleſs periſhed. Mean while a ſhallop entered the port with four men on board, who brought advice that Nicueſſa had been ſtranded upon a unknown coaſt; and having marched a great way with incredible fatigue, was now on ſhore with his followers in a moſt miſerable condition. At hearing this news

Olano's heart relented, and he immediately diſpatched the ſhallop with proviſions and refreſhments, which ſaved Nicueſſa and his men from periſhing with hunger; but this ſeaſonable relief did not in the leaſt ſoften that governor's reſentment againſt his lieutenant, whom he put in irons, and threatened to ſend him in that condition to Spain.

Nicueſſa now ſettled a colony on the banks of the river Belem or Bethlehem; but ſoon became in ſuch want of proviſions, that leaving only a part of his men there, he ſailed with the reſt to Porto-Bello; when the Indians not ſuffering his people to land, he was obliged to ſteer two or three leagues farther to the port called by Columbus the Baſtimentos, and as ſoon as he entered it cried out Paremos aqui en il Nombre de Dios; that is, let us ſtay here in the name of God; whence the place was called Nombre de Dios. Then immediately landing, he began to erect a fortreſs.

Nicueſſa, being ſoon reduced to the ſame ſituation as in the former colony, was obliged to ſend one of his veſſels to Hiſpaniola, to intreat Columbus to grant him ſome aſſiſtance; but ſcarce was the veſſel ſailed, when that with Colmenares arrived with the above meſſage. This captain was ſo amazed at ſeeing Nicueſſa and his people lean, ragged and bare-footed, that he could not forbear ſhedding tears, eſpecially at hearing how many had died, and the great diſaſter they had ſuſtained, and therefore immediately endeavoured to comfort Nicueſſa, by telling him that the people of Santa Maria deſired he would come and govern them, that they poſſeſſed a pleaſant and fertile country, had plenty of proviſions, and were in no want of gold

Nicueſſa, now recovering his ſpirits, returned thanks to heaven for this unexpected news; but

ſoon forgetting his own miſerable condition, and that theſe people had voluntarily made him an offer of becoming their governor and protector, he was ſo imprudent as publickly to declare, that he would take all their gold from them, and puniſh them for landing within the limits of his grant. Nor was this his only error; for being deſirous of viewing ſome iſlands that lay in the way, he ſuffered a caraval to ſail before him, in which were perſons who acquainted the colony with theſe ungenerous expreſſions; upon which they changed their reſolutions, and reſolved not to ſuffer him to come among them.

Nicueſſa, having ſpent eight days among the iſlands was greatly ſurprized on his anchoring at the landing place at Santa Maria, to find many of the Spaniards on ſhore, and at his being ordered by one of them, in the name of all the reſt, to return to Nombre de Dios. He deſired they would hear him, and for that purpoſe the next day came on ſhore, when the people attempted to ſeize him, he eſcaped by flight. Nicueſſa now entreated that in caſe they would not accept him for their governor, he might be at leaſt admitted as a companion; which they refuſing, he begged they would keep him as a priſoner, ſince he had rather die than to go back to ſtarve at Nombre de Dios. But notwithſtanding this, they cruelly forced him and about ſeventeen of his men into an old rotten bark, with orders to return to the place from whence they came, on pain of being ſunk where they were. There is no doubt of their having complied with this inhuman order, but with what ſucceſs is uncertain; for they were never ſeen afterwards. A ſtory was however current in the Weſt Indies, that the Spaniards, on their coming to ſettle themſelves in Cuba, found the following inſcription cut on the bark of a large

tree. "Here the unfortunate Nicueſſa finiſhed his "miſeries and his life together."

After the departure of this unhappy man, Nunez de Balboa diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a prudent governor; he made great diſcoveries; was the firſt European that ſaw the ſouth ſea, and prepared the way for the conqueſt of Peru. As his hiſtory has therefore a cloſe connection with that conqueſt, we ſhall place it immediately before our account of that great event.

CHAPTER III.

Diego Columbus ſends Diego Velaſquez to plant a colony in Cuba. A diſcription of that iſland.

THOUGH the governments beſtowed upon the above adventurers, were ſo many violations of the juſt rights of the admiral Don Diego Columbus, he was very much blamed for not endeavouring to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power, and his enemies made uſe of this complaint at the court of Spain, which always looked upon him with jealouſy, and therefore readily liſtened to any accuſation brought againſt him. Of this the admiral was ſo ſenſible, that he left no ſtone unturned to ſecure to himſelf thoſe countries to which he had juſt pretenſions, from the contract made with his father.

Being informed at the beginning of the year 1511, that the court was very deſirous of having a colony planted in the great iſland of Cuba, he reſolved to be before hand with them, and to ſend a body of men thither under the command of a perſon whom he could truſt; that having a lieute-

nant there of his own, the court might have no pretence for making a grant of it to any more adventurers, as they had done of that part of the continent diſcovered by his father, and even of the iſland of Jamaica; which however he had recovered. For this purpoſe he made choice of James Velaſquez, the wealthieſt and moſt eſteemed of all the firſt Spaniſh inhabitants of Hiſpaniola.

Before we proceed it may not be improper to obſerve, that the province of Guatiaba lying next to Cuba, and the diſtance between the two points being only 18 leagues, many of the Indians of Hiſpaniola had paſſed over in their canoes, and among them a Cacique of the province of Guatiaba, called Hatuey, a man of bravery and prudence, who took as many of his men as poſſible, and ſettled on the neareſt country called Mayci, where he treated the people as ſubjects, and not as ſlaves. This Cacique, fearing that the Spaniards would one time or other paſs into Cuba, kept ſpies in order to know what was done in Hiſpaniola. Being at length informed of the admiral's deſign, he aſſembled the moſt warlike of his people, and putting them in mind of the many ſufferings they had endured under the Spaniards, told them that they committed theſe outrages for the ſake of a great Lord of whom they were very fond, and whom he would ſhew them; then taking ſome gold out of a little palm tree baſket, added, "This is the Lord whom "they adore, him they follow, and as you have "already heard they are coming hither in ſearch "of him: let us therefore make a feſtival and "dance to him that when they come he may "order them not to hurt us." They accordingly began to ſing and dance; for their dances, like thoſe of Hiſpaniola, were performed to the muſick of their ſongs. At length Hatuey reminded them, that though they ſhould conceal this Lord of the

chriſtians in their very bowels, the Spaniards would find him out, and that they ſhould therefore caſt him into the midſt of the river, which was accordingly done.

The Spaniſh inhabitants of Hiſpaniola were no ſooner informed that Diego Velaſquez was going to plant a colony in Cuba, than many of them reſolved to accompany him, and about 300 men aſſembled in the town of Salvatierra de la Zavana, at the extremity of Hiſpaniola, in order to embark on board four ſhips. From thence they ſailed in November 1511, and landed at a port called Palina, in the territories of the Cacique Hatuey, who ſtood on his defence, taking advantage of the woods where the Spaniards could make no uſe of their horſes. After two months ſpent in this manner, the Indians concealed themſelves in the thickeſt parts of the foreſts; but whenever they appeared they were hunted like wild beaſts by the Spaniards, who carried all they took to Velaſquez, when that commander diſtributed them among his men, not as ſlaves but as ſervants. Hatuey withdrew into the moſt inacceſſible places; but at length had the misfortune to be taken and carried to Velaſquez, who had the cruelty to cauſe that unhappy Cacique to be burnt alive: upon which all the province of Mayci ſubmitted; for after this inhuman example of ſeverity, none of the Indians dared to oppoſe him. Velaſquez now began to think of dividing the native Indians among the Spaniard, as Obando had done by thoſe in Hiſpaniola, and for that purpoſe he founded a town at an harbour in the north ſide of the iſland, at a place called by the natives Barracoa, and here the firſt colony in the iſland was ſettled.

On its being known in Jamaica that Velaſquez was in Cuba, many of thoſe who were with Juan de Eſquibel, Columbus's lieutenant, aſked leave

to go over and ſerve under him, among whom was Pamphilio de Narvaez, a gentleman well born, who brought thirty archers under his command, and having a graceful perſon and an eaſy addreſs, was well received by Velaſquez, who ſent him with his thirty men to the province of Bayamo, a fine open country at fifty leagues diſtance. On the road he and his ſmall party were attacked in the night at an Indian town, by a conſiderable body of the natives; but mounting a mare which he had brought with him, they were ſo frightened at the ſight of that noble animal, and at hearing the bells which at that time were part of the trappings of the Spaniſh horſes, that they fled far into the country, and Velaſquez ſending a detachment to join Narvaez, he with the greateſt eaſe became abſolute maſter of that province.

The fine and extenſive iſland of Cuba, which is ſituated between 20d. and 23d. north latitude, is upwards of 800 miles in length from eaſt to weſt, and generally about ſeventy broad. It lies about fifty miles weſt of Hiſpaniola, and ſeventy-five north of Jamaica. To the ſouth are a great number of ſmall iſlands, to which Chriſtopher Columbus gave the name of the Queen's Garden, and to the north are a ſmaller number, which Velaſquez named the King's Garden. The whole iſland of Cuba is very pleaſant, and more temperate than Hiſpaniola. On the eaſtermoſt point there are mountains of a very great height, which extend ninety miles, and through the middle runs a ridge of hills from eaſt to weſt, from whence very fine rivers and brooks flow down both to the north and the ſouth, through the plain champaign countries which lie on the coaſt, until after a ſhort courſe they diſcharge themſelves on each ſide into the ſea. It has many fine harbours, particularly on the

ſouthern coaſt, where there are that of St. Jago in the form of a croſs; that of Xaquas, to which the ſhips paſs through a narrow mouth not above a croſs-bow ſhot over, and then turn into the open part, which is about ten leagues in compaſs, and where there are three ſmall iſlands, ſo ſituated that ſhips may be faſtened to ſtakes fixed in the ground, under ſhelter of the mountains, and lie ſafe from the winds blowing from any part of the compaſs. On the north ſide are alſo ſeveral good harbours, the beſt of which is that now called the Havannah.

When this iſland was firſt planted, it was ſo covered with woods that a perſon might travel near 690 miles under trees of various ſorts, and particularly red cedars, out of the trunks of which the natives made canoes able to contain fifty or ſixty perſons. They had alſo ſtorax trees, and wild vines, the ſtems of which were as thick as a man's body, and a variety of fruit trees; yet there were greater quantities of Indian corn here, than in any other part of the Weſt-Indies. At the arrival of the Spaniards it was ſtocked with abundance of birds, particularly a ſort of pigeons, partridges, flamingoes, and parroquets; of theſe laſt there were infinite multitudes, which when young were eſteemed excellent food: there were few land animals, except a kind of rabbits, like thoſe of Hiſpaniola; but on the other hand there were abundance of excellent tortoiſe or ſea-turtle, and both the ſea and rivers abounded with plenty of fiſh.

After the Spaniards had been ſettled there ſome time, they found conſiderable quantities of gold in the rivers, ſome of which was very pure, but the greateſt part was of leſs value than that of Hiſpaniola, or Porto Rico. Though the original inhabitants were very numerous, they have been long ſince deſtroyed by the cruelty of the Spa-

niards. St. Jago in the ſouth part of the iſland is eſteemed the capital; but the Havannah on the north-weſt is by far the moſt conſiderable place, on account of its trade, and its being the annual rendezvous of the galeons on their return to Spain.

CHAPTER IV.

The diſcoveries made on the continent, under the command of Diego de Velaſquez, by Francis Hernandez de Cordova his lieutenant. The misfortunes Cordova meets with, and the hardſhips he ſuffers until his return to Cuba, where he dies.

DON Diego or James de Velaſquez, having reduced the beſt part of Cuba, and planted ſeveral Spaniſh colonies upon that iſland, began to be very deſirous of ſhaking off the authority of admiral Diego Columbus, under whom he had hitherto acted. The admiral being now recalled to Spain oppoſed this project to the utmoſt of his power; but he had ſo little influence at that ungrateful court, that he was unable to carry his point; for though Velaſquez was ſtill left accountable to him for the exerciſe of his authority, yet he was not allowed to recall him without the conſent of the crown, which ſo well anſwered Velaſquez's purpoſe, that he reſolved immediately to execute a project he had long meditated, of fitting out ſhips for making diſcoveries; and no ſooner were his intentions known, than numbers of the Spaniſh planters, who were grown rich, offered to contribute large ſums towards carrying it into execution, among whom was Francis Hernandez de Cordova, a perſon

of great wealth and bravery, who offered to go as captain, which was granted.

Cordova, having fitted up two ſhips and a brigantine, took 110 ſoldiers on board, and ſailed from the Havannah on the 8th of February 1517. After being twenty-two days at ſea, during which they lay by in the night, they ſaw land, and from their ſhips obſerved a large town at about two leagues from the coaſt. As they drew near, two canoes full of men appeared; the Spaniards hailed them; and thirty Indians went on board the commodore dreſſed in jackets without ſleeves, and with pieces of cloth wrapped about their waiſts. The Spaniards gave them meat, wine, and ſtrings of beads, after which the Indians retiring, made ſigns that they would return the next day with more canoes to carry the Spaniards on ſhore, ſeeming much to admire the ſhips, the men, their beads, clothes arms, and every thing they had never ſeen before.

The next day the Indians returned with twelve canoes, on board of which was the cacique, who cried out *Conez catoche, or come to my houſe,* from whence that place received the name of Cape Catoche. The Spaniards then entering their boats and the canoes, took their arms and went aſhore, where an infinite number of the natives waited to ſee them: Cordova even reſolved to attend the cacique to his houſe, in order to take a view of the country; but entering a wood, the cacique gave a ſignal, and inſtantly a multitude of men ſtarted from an ambuſcade in which they had been concealed. They were dreſſed in jackets of quilted cotton to ſecure them from being wounded by arrows, and had wooden ſwords edged with flint, ſpears, bows and arrows, ſlings and targets: their faces were painted of ſeveral colours, and on their heads they wore plumes of feathers; theſe giving a loud

ſhout, diſcharged a ſhower of ſtones and arrows, and then ruſhing on the Spaniards, fought with much reſolution, untill being diſordered by the diſcharge of the muſkets and croſs-bows, as well as by the ſharpneſs of the Spaniſh ſwords, they fled, after having 17 men killed, and many wounded. In this action were taken two youths, who afterwards became chriſtians, and were called Julian and Melchior.

The Spaniards now returned to their ſhips, and were pleaſed at their having found people in many reſpects different from thoſe they had hitherto ſeen, and particularly at their having obſerved houſes built with ſtone and lime, which were the firſt that had been obſerved in that part of the world. They now continued their courſe along the coaſt fifteen days, and then entering a bay, landed in order to take in freſh water, of which they were in want. This place being by the Indians called Quimpeche, it from thence obtained the name of Campeche. They here filled their caſks with freſh water, and were going to return to their ſhips, when they were met by 50 Indians, dreſſed like thoſe they had ſeen before, who aſked them whether they came from the place where the ſun riſes, and conducted them to ſome temples built with ſtone, where the Spaniards obſerved ſeveral deformed idols, with blood freſh ſpilt, and from one of theſe temples came two men in white mantles, with long black hair twiſted up in rolls behind, and holding in their hands little earthen fire-pans, into which they caſt a certain gum, and then perfuming the Spaniards ordered them to depart the country on pain of death; at which they retired in good order to the ſhore, and returned to their ſhips.

They now ſteered ſix days along the coaſt, and then landed at about a league's diſtance from a

town called Potanchan, where they filled their caſks with water; and obſerved a body of armed men advancing towards them; but it growing dark, they returned back towards the town. The Spaniards now raſhly reſolved to ſtay on ſhore; but in the night were greatly alarmed by the noiſe made by the Indians, and at break of day perceived that the firſt party had been joined by ſeveral others, and that they were entirely ſurrounded by a great army. They however reſolved to make the beſt defence in their power, and were quickly under the neceſſity of exerting all their courage; for it no ſooner grew light than the Indians diſcharged a ſhower of arrows, darts and ſtones, by which about 80 Spaniards were wounded, among whom was Cordova; but at length after a vigorous defence, the Spaniards finding it impoſſible to vanquiſh ſuch numbers, made a furious onſet, and breaking through the Indians, ran towards their boats, whilſt the Indians purſued them with hideous cries. The boats narrowly eſcaped being overſet by their crowding into them, and the natives were ſo eager to attack them, that they ran into the water to wound them with their ſpears. In this action 47 Spaniards were killed, five died on board the ſhip, and all the reſt, except one, were wounded. It was therefore reſolved to burn one of the ſhips for want of hands, and to return to Cuba.

One of their greateſt misfortunes was, their having been obliged to leave their caſks on ſhore, which occaſioned their being ſoon in great diſtreſs for want of water, and though ſome of the ſoundeſt of the men landed with jars to ſearch for a freſh ſupply, they could find none but what was brackiſh; this obliged them to ſteer for Florida, where one of the pilots had been with Ponce de Leon. They here landed near a creek, and having poſted

centinels dug pits, and finding good water, drank ſome, and waſhed linen for the wounded men; but when they were about to return, one of the centinels having ſtepped aſide with a hatchet to cut down a palmetto tree near the creek, the other heard him cry out, and inſtantly ran to give the alarm, crying, to ſea! to ſea! the Indians are coming. Many canoes were inſtantly ſeen rowing down the creek, filled with Indians cloathed in deer ſkins, and armed with bows and arrows, ſwords and ſpears who landing, let fly their arrows, and wounded ſix of the ſoldiers; but ſoon perceiving the dreadful effects produced by the muſkets and croſs bows, ran back to their canoes, on which the Spaniards returned with ſafety to their ſhips, where the men were in ſuch diſtreſs for want of water, that a ſoldier leaping into the boat, ſeized a jar, and drank ſo much that he ſwelled and died two days after. In ſhort, after enduring many other hardſhips, they arrived at the Havannah, from whence Cordova ſent a particular account of his unfortunate voyage to the governor Diego Velaſquez, and died of his wounds ten days after.

CHAPTER V.

The Diſcoveries made on the Continent by the Command of James Velaſquez, under John Grijalva. They Land in the Iſland of Cozumel, proceed to New Spain, and defeat the Indians of Potonchan. They then land on the banks of Rio de Grijalva, where they receive Preſents from the Indians. Steering from thence they are invited on Shore by the Mexicans, with whom they trade for Gold. They afterwards viſit ſeveral Iſlands; diſcover Temples with Idols and human Sacrifices; purchaſe many bright Copper Axes which they miſtake for Gold, and return to the Iſland of Cuba, where Grijalva is diſgraced by Velaſquez, for not diſobeying the Orders he himſelf had given him.

NOTWITHSTANDING Cordova's ill ſucceſs, his account of this voyage gave great pleaſuae to Velaſquez, who frequently declared that he was reſolved to purſue theſe diſcoveries as ſoon as an opportunity offered, ſince as theſe ſeemed more civilized than any other Indians, they were probably richer; and this reſolution was no ſooner known, than ſeveral of the principal inhabitants offered him their aſſiſtance, which ſoon enabled him to ſend out three ſhips and a brigantine.

This ſmall ſquadron was commanded by John Grijalva and the captains Alverado, Montejo, and d'Avila, who had ſtrict orders to make what diſcoveries they could, but to attempt no ſettlements. They ſailed from Cuba on the 8th of May, 1511, and having viſited Florida, and diſcovered the iſland of Coxumel, proceeded along the coaſt of the continent. Eight days after they reached Potonchan's town, and came to an anchor, upon which the natives being elated with their ſucceſs in driving Cordova's men out of the country, took up arms, and ran to the ſhore, where they ſtood to

hinder the Spaniards from landing, ſhouting and making a great noiſe with their trumpets and kettle drums. The Spaniards no ſooner approached the ſhore, than they diſcharged a ſhower of arrows, darts, and ſtones, and with great intrepidity ran into the water to wound the invaders with their ſpears; but the latter were no ſooner landed, then ruſhing upon them ſword in hand, they made them give way; for the Spaniards being now taught by experience, began to uſe looſe cotton jackets like thoſe of theſe Indians, as a defenſive armour againſt their arrows: however three of them were killed and ſixty wounded, among whom was Grijalva. But the boats coming to their aſſiſtance with the remainder of the ſoldiers who had been left on board, the Indians quitted the field, and the Spaniards marched to the town, where they found only three of the natives; theſe they uſed well, and ſent them with ſome toys to allure the inhabitants back; but theſe meſſengers never returned, upon which they embarked and again ſet ſail.

Grijalva now continuing his courſe by day, and lying by in the night, for fear of falling among flats and rocks, diſcovered the mouth of a large river, but ſo ſhallow that it would only admit ſmall veſſels, and therefore they could only ſend up two of their boats well manned; who were obliged to proceed with great circumſpection, on account of there being many armed Indians in canoes along the ſhore.

This river, which the natives called Tabaſco, the Spaniards named Rio de Grijalva, from their commander in chief, and landed at a grove of palm-trees about half a league from a town. The Indians ſeeing them leave their boats, about fifty canoes, full of armed men, moved forward, and ſtopped again at a ſmall diſtance from the Spaniards; upon which the latter ſent Melchior and

Julian, the two Indians taken by Cordova, to inform them that they were come with no other view but to treat with them about ſome affairs that would give them pleaſure. Upon this the Indians in four canoes drew near, and Grijalva ordered the above interpreters to tell them, that he and his men were the ſubjects of a great king to whom mighty princes paid obedience; that it was reaſonable they alſo ſhould ſubmit to him becauſe it would be much to their advantage; and that until the Spaniards could explain theſe affairs, they muſt furniſh them with proviſions. To this the Indians prudently replied, that they would give them proviſions; but they had a lord of their own, and knew no reaſon why they, who were but ſtrangers, ſhould offer to impoſe a new lord upon them. However, that they ought to take heed how they made war on them, as they had done on the people of Potonchan; for they had provided an army which according to their manner of computation muſt amount to 24,000 men. That they knew they had killed and wounded above 200 at Potonchan; but that they were not ſo weak as thoſe people. They concluded with obſerving, that they were come thither to know their will, and would make a very juſt report of what was ſaid to a number of very great men, who were aſſembled either to treat of peace or to renew the war. Grijalva then gave them ſtrings of beads, looking glaſſes, and other things, charging them to bring back an anſwer, becauſe if they did not, he muſt go to the town, though he ſhould not do it any harm. Having thus concluded the conference he returned to the ſhips.

Theſe perſons having delivered the meſſage, all the chiefs, who were uſually conſulted in martial affairs, thought peace preferable to war, and immediately ſent a number of Indians loaded with roaſted fiſh, poultry, bread, and ſeveral ſorts of

fruit. Theſe being delivered, they laid ſome mats on the ground, and placed upon them ſeveral ſorts of very beautiful feather works. After which they let the Spaniards know, that their lord would come the next day to pay them a viſit.

According at the time appointed the Cacique appeared, attended by many unarmed men, and, without ſhewing the leaſt jealouſy, went on board Grijalva's ſhip. That commander was a genteel man, about 28 years of age, and had on a looſe coat of crimſon velvet, a cap of the ſame, with ſome rich ornaments. He received the Cacique with reſpect, and ſitting down, they began their diſcourſe, of which both parties underſtood very little, except by words interpreted by Julian and Melchior. After ſome time, the Cacique ordered an Indian to take out of the trunk he carried, ſome plates of gold, and thin boards covered with the ſame metal for armour. Theſe the Cacique himſelf tried upon Grijalva, taking off thoſe that did not fit, and applying others, until he had put him on a complete ſuit of gold armour that fitted him as well as if it had been made for him. He alſo preſented him various works in fine gold and feathers. In return Grijalva called for a very fine ſhirt, and with his own hands put it upon the Cacique, as he did alſo his great coat of crimſon velvet. He then put on his feet a pair of new ſhoes; and gave him ſome of the beſt ſtrings of beads and looking glaſſes, with ſciſſars, knives, and ſeveral toys made of tin, ſome of which he alſo gave to all the Cacique's attendants. The Cacique's preſent to Grijalva was worth about 3000 pieces of eight, and among the reſt were a wooden head piece, covered with thin plates of gold, and three or four maſks, ſome of which were covered with a ſort of ſtones like emeralds. The ſight of theſe things made the Spani-

ards very eager to ſettle in a country that produced ſuch vaſt wealth.

Grijalva having received this conſiderable preſent, and being ſenſible that the Indians were not willing that their gueſts ſhould ſtay long, proceeded farther, and in two days came to a town called Agualunco, which the Spaniards named Le Rambla, where the inhabitants appeared at a diſtance, with targets of tortoiſe-ſhell, which glittering in the ſun made ſome of the Spaniards fancy they were made of gold.

Sailing from thence, the Spaniards ſaw ſeveral other rivers, in one of which they obſerved the Indians waving large pieces of white cloth faſtened to poles, as if inviting them to land; whereupon Grijalva ordered captain de Montejo to go to ſhore with all the muſqueteers, and twenty other ſoldiers, and that in caſe the Indians appeared in a warlike poſture, he ſhould give notice, in order that ſuccours might be ſent him.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that this coaſt was part of the great empire of Mexico, and that Montezuma, who was then ſeated on the throne, having heard of the exploits of the Spaniards, and the pains they took to become acquainted with the maritime parts of his empire, began to grow uneaſy, and longed to know why they took ſuch pains to learn the ſtate of countries that did not belong to them. To obtain this intelligence, he had given directions to the governors of ſome of theſe provinces to entertain theſe ſtrangers civilly, to ſeize every opportunity of trading with them, and to ſend him from time to time ſuch an account of their motions as might enable him clearly to diſcern what opinion he ought to entertain of them and in conſequence of theſe inſtructions the Indians made ſignals to invite them on ſhore.

As ſoon, therefore, as Montejo and his men were landed, the Mexicans offered them fowls, bread and fruit, and perfumed the Spaniards by burning gum copal in little fire pans. Montejo inſtantly ſent advice to Grijalva of the friendly manner in which he was received, upon which that commander came up with the ſhips, landed, and gave the people ſome glaſs beads and necklaces. He was treated with great reſpect by the emperor of Mexico's governor, and his principal officers, who ordering the Indians to bring gold to barter; the Spaniards, during the ſix days they ſtayed there, purchaſed gold toys of ſeveral ſhapes, to the value of 15,000 pieces of eight.

At length Grijalva having made preſents to the principal perſons, and taken poſſeſſion of the country for the king of Spain, in the name of Diego Velaſquez, embarked and touched at ſeveral iſlands, and having landed in one of them, with 50 ſoldiers, found a temple in which were ſeveral idols, and four men dreſſed in long black mantles with hoods, who were the prieſts of the temple, and had that very day ſacrificed two boys, who were found ripped open and their hearts taken out; a piece of cruelty which filled the Spaniards with horror and compaſſion. To this iſland which was called Ulua, Grijalva gave the name of St. John Baptiſt, but it has ever ſince been called St. John de Ulua, to diſtinguiſh it from St. John de Porto Rico.

Grijalva having ſtaid ſeven days at this iſland, during which he bartered for a ſmall quantity of gold, he ſent Velaſquez an account of his diſcoveries by Alverado, with all the gold and other things they had obtained from the Indians. Velaſquez was greatly pleaſed with the account he received; but Alverado having been very deſirous of ſettling

a colony, gave him very ill impreſſions of Grijalva, who had ſerved him faithfully, and paid the moſt ſtrict regard to his orders.

In the mean time Grijalva, by the advice of the other captains and pilots, coaſted along in ſight of the mountains of Tuſpa, and afterwards ſailed to the mouth of the river Tarala, to which he gave the name of St. Anthony, and there careened one of the ſhips that was leaky. While they were here many Indians came from the town at a league's diſtance, with bread, poultry, and other proviſions, which they ſold for Spaniſh toys: and the news of this traffic being ſoon ſpread abroad, others came from Guazacoallo, and the reſt of the neighbouring towns, bringing proviſions, and very bright copper axes with painted handles; the Spaniards thinking theſe axes were gold, purchaſed 600 of them, and the Indians would willingly have parted with more.

While the Spaniards were here, a ſoldier entered a temple that ſtood in the fields, whence he took the incenſe called by the Indians Copal, the ſacrificing knives, and ſome idols, which he delivered to the commander in chief, after his having firſt taken off their carvings, pendants, plates, and crowns of gold, worth about ninety pieces of eight: but not being able to conceal his joy at obtaining his booty, Grijalva was informed of what he had done, and ordered every thing to be taken from him; but afterwards reſtored them to him again, upon his paying the fifth to the king.

From this place Grijalva ſet ſail for Cuba, and in 45 days arrived at the port of Mantancas in that iſland, with the value of 4000 pieces of eight in gold, beſides what had been brought by Alverado; but on their going to pay the duty of the king's fifth of the copper axes, the purchaſers had the mortification of finding them ruſty. In this port

Grijalva received a letter from the governor, ordering him to haſten to the port of St. Jago, and to inform the men that another fleet was fitting out in order to make a ſettlement. Grijalva obeyed this ſummons; but, on his araival at St. Jago, met with a very cool reception from Velaſquez, who had even the folly to abuſe him for having ſo ſtrictly obeyed his orders in not making a ſettlement. This, indeed, ought certainly to have preſerved him from that fate, ſince nothing but a ſcrupulous regard to his inſtructions could confine a man who had made great diſcoveries, from taking ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to eſtabliſh at once his fortune and independency. Grijalva contented himſelf with ſhewing the inſtructions he had received, which Velaſquez looked upon as a tacit cenſure on himſelf, and gave the command of the fleet to Hernando Cortes, which brings us to his celebrated expedition.

THE

Conqueſt of Mexico.

BY HERNANDO CORTES.

CHAPTER I.

Diego de Velaſquez, Governor of Cuba, appoints Hernando Cortes Commander in chief of a Fleet for making new Diſcoveries. He ſails from Cuba, and lands in the Iſland of Cozumel, where he demoliſhes the Indian Idols, and meets with a Captive Spaniard.

HERNANDO CORTES was a native of Medelin, a town of Eſtremadura in Spain, and being educated for a military life, reſolved to puſh his fortune in the Weſt-Indies, whither he ſailed in the year 1504, with letters of recommendation to Don Nicholas de Obando his kinſman, who was at that time governor of Hiſpaniola. This gentleman gave him a very kind reception, and admitted him into the number of his friends; but theſe favours could not divert his inclination to arms, and therefore that iſland being poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, without any oppoſition from the natives, he deſired leave to ſerve in the iſland of Cuba, where the war was ſtill carried on, and having arrived there, ſo far diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as to

obtain the reputation of a valiant ſoldier and able commander; on which account he was made Alcade, or chief magiſtrate of the town of St. Jago, a poſt generally conferred on thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the conqueſt of thoſe countries. Cortes was in this ſituation when he was recommended to Diego de Velaſquez, governor of Cuba, as a proper perſon for making conqueſts on the continent; and the governor giving his approbation, a commiſſion was inſtantly ſigned, by which Cortes was appointed Captain general of the fleet, and of the countries he ſhould diſcover and ſubdue.

His nomination to this poſt was greatly reſented by all who had flattered themſelves with the hopes of obtaining it. Mean while Cortes employed his own fortune, and all the money he could borrow in the purchaſe of proviſions, arms, and ammunition, and inliſted ſoldiers with ſuch expedition and ſucceſs, that within a few days he had above 300 men in his ſervice; and having equipped ten ſmall veſſels from 80 to 100 tons each, they ſailed from the port of St. Jago, by Cuba, on the 18th of November 1518, and coaſting along the iſland arrived at the port of La Trinidad, where he was joined by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction who reſolved to follow his fortunes. But he had no ſooner left St. Jago than his enemies prevailed on Velaſquez to revoke his commiſſion; of which Cortes being informed, he conſulted his friends and adherents, who declared with great warmth, that they would ſtand by him to the laſt extremity. He then took ſuch meaſures as appeared moſt proper for removing the jealouſy of Velaſquez, and promoting his own ſecurity, and having ſent Pedro de Alverado with a party of ſoldiers by land to take care of the horſes, and raiſe recruits in the ſettlements, he ſailed with the fleet for the Havannah. But in the night,

the Capitana, in which Cortes embarked, ſeparated from the reſt, while the other veſſels continued their courſe to the port of Havannah, where the people were kindly received by Pedro de Barba, the governor under Velaſquez. However, having ſtaid ſeveral days without hearing any news of Cortes, they concluded he was loſt, and began to deliberate on chooſing another commander, but were prevented by his arrival, when he was received with the loud acclamations of his men, and treated with great reſpect by the governor.

While he ſtaid in this place, he cauſed a number of cotton quilts to be made, to defend his people from the darts and arrows of the Indians, it being found that theſe were more uſeful than coats of mail. He proved his artillery, exerciſed his ſoldiers, in the uſe of their fire arms and croſs bows, as well as in the management of their pikes, and taught them to form and file off, in order to make an attack and retreat. But while he was thus employed, a meſſenger arrived with diſpatches to the governor of Havannah, containing expreſs orders to diveſt Cortes of his command, and to ſend him priſoner with a ſtrong guard to St. Jago. Cortes was highly incenſed at Velaſquez's behaviour, and his endeavouring to ruin an enterprize in which he and his friends had embarked their whole fortunes; he therefore reſolved to provide for himſelf, and to make uſe of force if it was neceſſary; he even explained his ſituation to his ſoldiers, and they raiſed ſuch a tumult, that the governor of Havannah, dreading the conſequence of their reſentment, publicly declared, that he did not intend to execute the orders he had received from Velaſquez, which he conſidered as a flagrant act of injuſtice. This commotion being thus appeaſed, and a brigantine added to the fleet, Cortes divided his men into eleven companies, delivered inſtructions to his

officers, and after a ſolemn maſs, at which all the ſoldiers aſſiſted, weighed, and ſet ſail from Havannah on the 10th of February 1519.

They had this day a favourable gale, but the ſun was no ſooner ſet than a furious ſtorm aroſe, which damaged the fleet. Cortes had before ſent Diego de Ordaz, whoſe fidelity he had ſuſpected, to Guanicanico, a ſettlement on the other ſide of cape St. Antonio; and a little before the ſtorm, he ſent Pedro de Alverado in queſt of him, with orders to wait for the fleet at cape St. Antonio; but Pedro perceiving that the tempeſt had driven him ſo far into the gulph as to render it difficult for him to weather cape St. Antonio, ſteered away for the iſland of Cozumel, where upon his landing he found a ſmall town near the coaſt, which was abandoned by the Indians, who had fled at his approach. Alverado was a young man of an enterpriſing genius, but of little experience, and imagined that, while he waited for the fleet which was to caſt anchor at that iſland, nothing could ſo ill become a ſoldier as inaction, and therefore ordered his men to march, and take a view of the inner part of the iſland. At a league's diſtance they came up to another town, which was abandoned like the firſt. Here the ſoldiers ſeized ſome proviſions, and in a temple of one of their idols they found many jewels and ſome inſtruments for ſacrificing made of gold mixed with copper, which, though of ſmall value, they carried away. However, this expedition was ſo far from promoting the ſervice in which they were engaged, that it only ſerved to frighten the Indians, and to render it more difficult to obtain their friendſhip and aſſiſtance.

The next day Cortes arrived with the fleet, having ſent another veſſel with directions to Ordaz, on a ſuppoſition that Alverado had been prevented by

the ſtorm; and though he was glad to find that young captain ſafe at Cozumel, he publicly reprimanded him for his raſhneſs in marching up and down the iſland, and diſmiſſed three Indian priſoners whom he had taken, after having ordered their effects to be reſtored, and given them many preſents for their Cacique, in token of peace and amity. To prevent new diſputes, he drew down his forces to the ſea ſide, and having encamped them there for three days, he thought fit to make a general review; when it appeared that his whole army amounted to 508 ſoldiers including their officers, 16 horſe, 2 chaplains, and 109 mariners and mechanics. On this occaſion, Cortes made them a ſpeech, in which he endeavored to inſpire them with courage, by the promiſe of wealth and honour; explained the dangers they muſt expect to encounter, and in the ſtrongeſt terms, repreſented the neceſſity of a ſtrict obedience, and the moſt perfect unanimity.

He had ſcarce concluded this ſpeech, when intelligence was brought him, that a conſiderable number of unarmed Indians were approaching in ſeveral detached parties, upon which he drew up his men, and commanded them to remain under arms until it was known what was their intention. The Indians no ſooner came in ſight, than they continued for ſome time without motion; but perceiving that no hoſtilities were offered, they at length boldly advanced, and mingling with the ſoldiers, preſented them with ſome refreſhments, and continued to behave with great confidenc and familiarity.

The next day the principal cacique of the iſland came with a numerous retinue to pay a viſit to Cortes, who received him with great courteſy; and while the converſation was carried on by means of an interpreter, one of the Indians was heard to

pronounce the word Caſtilla, the meaning of which being demanded by Cortes, he was told that the Indian ſaid, the Spaniards reſembled ſome perſons in Yucatan, who came from a country called Caſtilla. Cortes immediately concluded that theſe were his countrymen, and reſolved to ſet them at liberty. Upon a more particular inquiry he found that they were in the power of ſome Indians of the higheſt rank, who reſided at Yucatan, and that the moſt certain method of procuring their liberty would be to offer a ranſom; for the Cacique informed him that ſhould he have recourſe to arms, it would expoſe them to the hazard of being maſſacred by their maſters. Cortes approved of this advice, and ordered Diego de Ordaz to ſail to the coaſt of Yucatan, with a letter to the priſoners, and ſome trifles for their ranſom, and to ſtay eight days, in which time ſome Indians appointed by the Cacique for that purpoſe undertook to return with an anſwer. In the mean time Cortes marched with the troops in a body about the iſland, in order to view the country, and keep his men in action, and in this tour he was accompanied by the cacique, and a great number of Indians, who furniſhed him with proviſions and exchanged gold for glaſs beads, which they fancied they could never purchaſe too dear.

At a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt ſtood the temple of an idol that was much revered by the Indians. It was a ſquare ſtone building, and no contemptible ſtructure. The idol which was called Cozumel, whence the iſland received the ſame name, was in the figure of a man, and had a moſt horrible aſpect. Here a great concourſe of people were found liſtening to a prieſt who was diſtinguiſhed by a certain ornament or covering which ſcarcely concealed his nakedneſs, and who ſeemed to preach with great emphaſis. Cortes, ſhocked

at the abſurdity of ſuch worſhip, told the cacique, that it was impoſſible for them to continue friends, if he did not renounce his idolatry, and that it was unworthy of a man of ſenſe to pay divine honours to a deformed image fitter to frighten children than to be reverenced by men of underſtanding. The cacique replied, that as to religion he left it wholly to the prieſts, who ſhould, if he pleaſed, diſcourſe with him upon that ſubject. This was readily accepted, and one of the prieſts being ſent for, no ſooner was informed of the affair in queſtion, than he began with the moſt hideous outcries to proteſt againſt thoſe who ſhould be ſo audacious as to diſturb the worſhip of their gods, denouncing the immediate vengeance of heaven againſt all who ſhould preſume to diſhonour this deity or his habitation. But Cortes, without paying any regard to his menaces, immediately ordered all the idols to be broke to pieces, and moſt of their temples to be demoliſhed. The largeſt of them, however, he preſerved entire, and having cauſed a neat altar to be erected, had maſs ſaid in it by the chaplains and prieſts, and at his departure charged the cacique to take the ſtricteſt care that every thing was kept in good order, and that no inſult was offered to the image of the bleſſed virgin, or to two croſſes which he erected in that chapel; and this the Indian Chief very readily promiſed.

When the eight days were expired, Diego de Ordaz returned from Yucatan, without ſeeing any thing of the Caſtilians for whom he was ſent. Cortes therefore ſet ſail with a fair wind; but was obliged to return the ſame day, on account of one of the ſhips having ſprung a leak.

While this ſhip was refitting, Cortes was told that a canoe was ſtanding directly towards the iſland, when perceiving that ſhe was full of armed In-

pians, he ordered Andrea de Tapia to get as much as poſſible under the ſhelter of the land, and to endeavour to take the canoe. Soon after four men came from it with a ſlight covering about their waiſts, and with bows and arrows in their hands. Andrea de Tapia, as ſoon as the Indians were landed, advanced towards them ſword in hand, when three of them ſeeming afraid, the fourth bid them not fear, and addreſſing himſelf to the Spaniards, cried aloud in the Caſtilian tongue, gentlemen, I am a chriſtian. Tapia immediately embraced him with equal joy and ſurprize, and conducted him to Cortes, who received him with much affection, while his Indian companions crouched down on their hams, and laying their bows and arrows on the ground, moiſtened their right hand with ſpittle, touched the earth, and then ſtroaked their breaſts near the heart; this being the moſt reſpectful ceremony they paid to their princes. Cortes having aſked the name of the ſtranger, he replied that he was called Jerome de Aguilar, and was a native of Eija. Meat and drink were then ſet before him, and he was ordered to be clothed.

The next day Cortes inquired how he fell into the hands of the Indians, when he replied, that being at Darien he was ſent to Hiſpaniola for men and ammunition, but was caſt away near Jamaica, when he and 20 other perſons taking to the boat, after ſuffering great diſtreſſes, reached the ſhore of Yucatan, where they fell into the hands of a cacique, who immediately ſacrificed ſix of them to his idols, and then eat them. That he and ſome others were ſhut up in a wooden cage, in order to ſerve for another feſtival; but breaking out, they, without being diſcovered, fled over the mountains, until they came into the dominions of another prince, who was an enemy to him from whom they had fled. That ſoon after moſt of his companions

died, and he fell into the hands of a maſter whom he ſerved for ſeveral years, and at length acquired ſuch a degree of favour, that he conferred upon him an employment near his perſon, and honoured him with his confidence. The cacique his maſter dying recommended him to his ſon, under whom he poſſeſſed the ſame office, and afterwards being employed in the wars with the neighbouring caciques, obtained ſuch reputation that he became the favourite both of the prince and people, and therefore on his receiving Cortes's letter, he eaſily obtained his liberty as a reward for his ſervices.

CHAPTER II.

Cortes ſails from Cozumel, arrives at the River Grijalva, lands in ſpite of the Indians, takes the Town of Tabaſco, and obtains a great Victory. He then concludes a Peace with the Indians, and embarks in order to continue his voyage to Mexico.

THE fleet ſet ſail from Cozumel on the 4th of March 1519, and reached the river of Grijalva, where the civil treatment which the Spaniards had formerly received from the Indians of Tabaſco, and the gold brought from thence, were ſuch motives for their landing, as were not to be reſiſted.

Therefore leaving the larger veſſels at anchor, Cortes embarked all his ſoldiers on board the ſmaller, and in the boats, and was beginning to make the beſt of his way againſt the current, when he perceived both ſides of the river covered with canoes filled with Indians in arms, ſupported by a conſiderable force on ſhore. When gueſſing from the horrible outcries and geſticulations of the Indians, that they intended to oppoſe him, he ſent Aguilar to them in a canoe with offers of peace,

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which being rejected, he reſolved to puniſh them for what he called their preſumption, in daring to defend their country. But night approaching, he thought proper to wait until the next day, and in the mean time commanded all the artillery to be brought into the ſmaller veſſels, and his ſoldiers to put on their quilted coats to ſecure them from being wounded by the arrows of the enemy.

At day-break, he drew up the veſſels, in the figure of a half-moon, and advancing ſlowly to the Indians, ſent Aguilar a ſecond time, with propoſals of peace, to which they made no anſwer, but giving the ſignal for the attack, advanced with great ſwiftneſs by the favour of the current, until being near enough to uſe their arrows, they diſcharged ſuch a ſhower of them, both from the canoes and barks on the river, that the Spaniards were much embarraſſed in their endeavours to cover themſelves. However, having received the firſt charge, they aſſaulted the Indians with ſuch vigour, that the canoes ſoon left the paſſage free. The veſſels then proceeded up the river without further oppoſition, and approaching the ſhore endeavoured to land, but the place being marſhy, and covered with brambles, the Spaniards were aſſaulted by a number of Indians who lay in ambuſh. However, Cortes drew up his men, and, notwithſtanding the prodigious fury of this attack, ranged his ſoldiers in order of battle in ſight of the enemy, whoſe numbers continually increaſed. He ordered Alonzo Davilla to advance with 100 ſoldiers through the woods, and take poſſeſſion of the town of Tabaſco, which was not far from the place of action. Cortes then attacked that vaſt multitude, and notwithſtanding his being obliged to fight up to his knees in mud, he put the Indians to flight, when inſtantly diſcovering the march of Davila, they ran to defend the town.

Cortes followed them to Tabaſco, which he reached before the detachment he had ſent thither, and found it fortified with a wall formed of large trunks of trees fixed in the ground like paliſadoes, with ſpaces between for the convenience of ſhooting arrows. It was of a circular compaſs, and at the cloſing of the circle the extremity of one line covered the other, forming a narrow winding ſtreet, in which were two or three wooden caſtles which filled up the paſſage, and were built for placing centinels. This was then a ſufficient fortification for the inhabitants of the new world, who were happily ignorant of the arts of war, and the methods of deſtruction practiſed by polite nations.

Cortes being joined by Davila, whoſe march had been obſtructed by lakes and marſhes, gave proper inſtructions for breaking down the paliſadoes, and inſtantly gave the ſignal to begin the attack, crying, my friends, here we muſt lodge to-night. The ſoldiers proceeded with great reſolution, and turning aſide a ſhower of arrows with their ſhields, advanced to the fortification, and diſcharging their fire-arms and croſs-bows through the openings, ſoon drove the enemy from their poſts, and then breaking down a part of the paliſadoes entered without difficulty. The Indians however, made head againſt the Spaniards in the ſtreets, but were embarraſſed by their own numbers, and being driven from thence, made a vigorous effort in a wide ſpace in the centre of the town; but being again repulſed, fled in great diſorder to the woods, whether Cortes would not allow his men to purſue them.

The Indians had removed their families and effects, and provided for their ſupport by laying in a great ſtock of proviſions. Fourteen or fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded, but the loſs of the Indians was very conſiderable. The troops lodged

that night in the town, in which centinels were poſted with as much care and exactneſs as if an army had been in view; but the next day the country appeared deſerted, and there was not an enemy to be ſeen. Cortes however ſuſpected this ſtillneſs, and his apprehenſions increaſed, by his being informed that Melchio his interpreter, one of the Indians taken by Cordova, had deſerted that very night, leaving his clothes hanging on a tree.

Cortes now ſent Pedro de Alverado, and likewiſe Franciſco de Lugro, with one hundred men each by different ways, to view the country, but with orders to retire in caſe they found an army in the field; but the latter, after a little more than an hours's march, fell into an ambuſcade, and was ſo furiouſly attacked on all ſides, that he was obliged to draw up his little battalion into a ſquare, and the number of the enemy increaſing his detachment would certainly have been overpowered, had not Alverado who had been obliged to turn out of his way by meeting a marſh, heard the report of the fire-arms, and haſted to his relief, after his firſt having detached an Indian of Cuba, to Cortes, to inform him of this event. Alverado attacked the Indians when Lugo was in the greateſt diſtreſs, his men being quite ſpent with fatigue, and made his attack with ſuch reſolution, that the Indians fled with the utmoſt conſternation; but ſoon after recovering from their ſurpriſe, they endeavoured to prevent the retreat of the two captains, who being joined, and having time to take breath, cut their way through a vaſt multitude of the inhabitants, which reſembled the rolling of the ſea, when the waves are driven back by the wind. At length Cortes appeared at a diſtance, and being obſerved by the Indians, they diſperſed, leaving the Spaniards in poſſeſſion of the field, eleven of whom were wounded, of which number only two died.

Some priſoners being taken on this occaſion, Cortes cauſed them to be examined ſeparately, by Jerom de Aguilar, when they agreed in declaring that all the Caciques in the neighbouring countries were marching to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of Tabaſco, and that the next day a powerful army was to be aſſembled in order to deſtroy the Spaniards at once. Upon this intelligence Cortes called a council, communicated to his captains what they had learned, and deſired their advice; repreſenting the weakneſs of their naked enemies, the ill conſequences that would attend their turning their backs upon them, and that this would be ſuch a diſgrace, as would prevent all their future conqueſts. Upon which the officers unanimouſly agreed, that it was abſolutely neceſſary not to leave the country, until they had reduced the inhabitants.

Cortes now proceeded to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a deciſive battle: he ordered the wounded to be carried on board; the horſes to be landed; the artillery to be in readineſs, and every thing in order by the next morning. At day-break, he gave the command of the infantry to Diego de Ordaz, when he and the other commanders mounted on horſeback, and kept pace with the artillery, which moved very ſlowly, from the grounds being boggy, until arriving at a place called Cinthla, about the diſtance of a league from their quarters, they obſerved the Indian army appear at a diſtance, and in ſuch numbers as to cover the country, as far as the eye could reach.

It is here proper to deſcribe the Indian manner of marching and coming to an engagement, ſince as the art of war is nearly the ſame in all the nations of New Spain, this will be ſufficient to give the reader ſome idea of their appearance, through the whole of this conqueſt. Their principal weapons, were bows and arrows, the ſtrings of the

bows being made of the ſinews of beaſts, or thongs of deer ſkins twiſted, and their arrows were pointed with fiſh bones. They had a kind of javelins, which they ſometimes threw, and ſometimes managed like a pike. They had alſo long two-handed wooden ſwords, edged with ſharp flints; ſome of the ſtrongeſt had clubs pointed with flints, and there were ſlingers who threw ſtones with great force and dexterity. Their defenſive arms, which were worn by none but commanders and perſons of diſtinction, conſiſted of coats of quilted cotton, breaſt plates, and ſhields of wood and tortoiſeſhell adorned with plates and metal. The reſt of the people were naked, only their heads were encircled with plumes of feathers to make them appear taller than they really were, and all of them had their faces and bodies painted of various colours in order to ſtrike terror into their enemies. Their warlike inſtruments were pipes made of large canes, ſea ſhells, and drums made of the bark of a tree hollowed, which being beaten with a ſtick afforded a very diſagreeable ſound. They made their attacks with terrible outcries, with which they thought to intimidate their enemies. Their battalions were formed without order; but they had bodies of reſerve to relieve the others when there was occaſion, and though they were divided into companies commanded by their reſpective officers, thoſe officers could ſcarcely govern their men; for when they came to engage, they were animated either by rage or fear, and conſequently were equally eager to charge and to run away.

Such was the army, or rather inundation of Indians, which now poured down upon the Spaniards. Cortes poſted his men under the ſhelter of a riſing ground that covered the rear, and having placed his artillery to the greateſt advantage,

advanced with his fifteen horſe to a wood, from whence he intended to ſally, and flank the enemy.

When the Indians had marched within a proper diſtance, they diſcharged a ſhower of arrows, and then fell upon the Spaniards with ſuch fury and precipitation, that their fire arms and croſs bows being unable to ſtop them, they were obliged to have recourſe to their ſwords and as the enemy preſſed on, the artillery deſtroyed them by whole companies. But the Indians fought with ſuch bravery, that the ball was no ſooner paſt than they cloſed again, drowning the groans of the wounded by their outcries. Diego de Ordaz acted with great courage: but his troops could ſcarcely ſtand their ground, when Cortes with his fifteen horſe ruſhed ſuddenly from the wood, broke through the thickeſt of the enemy, whom he trampled under his horſes feet, while they being amazed and terrified at the ſight of thoſe unknown animals, threw down their arms and fled with precipitation. Diego de Ordaz being ſoon ſenſible that the relief he expected was arrived, from the weak reſiſtance of the enemy's van, which now began to turn their backs, advanced with his infantry, and charged thoſe who had been juſt ready to overwhelm him with ſuch reſolution, that he obliged them to give way, till he came to the place where Cortes and his captains had diſperſed the enemy, who retreated, making a running fight, till the Spaniards purſuing them, they fled in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving above 800 dead upon the ſpot; the Spaniards had two men killed, and threeſcore and ten wounded.

The next day Cortes ordered two or three of the Indian officers, who were priſoners, to be brought before him, and perceiving that their countenances had all the marks of terror, gave them a courteous reception, and then ſet them at liberty, giving

them ſome trifling preſents, and telling them that he knew how to conquer and to forgive. This inſtance of his moderation had ſuch an effect, that in a few hours ſeveral of the natives came loaded with Indian corn, fowls and other proviſions, as a preſent from the principal Cacique of Tabaſco, who by theſe perſons made propoſals of peace; but Jerom de Aguilar obſerving that theſe were mean people, Cortes, though very deſirous of peace, refuſed to admit their propoſals, and ſent them back without ſeeing them, ordering them by his interpreter, to acquaint their Cacique, that if he deſired his friendſhip, he muſt ſend perſons of greater diſtinction to ſolicit it. The Cacique being immediately ſenſible of his error, the next day ſent 30 of his principal men adorned with plumes and jewels, and followed by a train of Indians, who carried another preſent of the ſame kind to the Spaniſh general.

Cortes being attended by his officers, with a very ſevere and ſtern look, gave audience to theſe Ambaſſadors, who approaching him with great ſubmiſſion, perfumed him with incenſe, compoſed of ſweet ſcented gums, made an apology for the war, and concluded with earneſt entreaties for a peace. The general replied by obſerving that he had juſt cauſe to be diſpleaſed with them: but granting their requeſt, made them a preſent of a few baubles. At which they departed highly ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of their negociation.

Cortes was afterwards viſited by the Cacique in perſon, attended by all his officers, who brought with them a preſent of cotton cloths, plumes of various colours, and ſome pieces of gold of admirable workmanſhip. The general loaded him with careſſes and the viſit paſſed in proteſtations of a reciprocal and ſincere friendſhip. The Indians of diſtinction who were in his retinue, were treated by the

Spaniſh captains, and nothing appeared but ſigns of joy and peace. At taking leave, the Cacique appointed another day for an interview, and to ſhew his confidence in the general, ordered his ſubjects to return with their families to Tabaſco, and to aſſiſt the Spaniards to the utmoſt of their power. The next day the Cacique returned with a preſent of 20 Indian women, who were ſkilled in making bread of Indian corn, and dreſſing other proviſions. The bread was made by grinding corn between two ſtones, till it was reduced to flour, when it was made into a paſte without leaven, and being moulded, was ſpread upon a ſort of earthen plates, on which it was baked over the fire. Among theſe women was one of uncommon beauty, who was afterwards baptized by the name of Mariana, and became Cortes's miſtreſs.

The pilots now haſtened the departure of the fleet, and Palm Sunday drawing nigh, Cortes appointed that day for embarking. The Spaniards accordingly ſet ſail for Mexico, coaſting along to the weſtward, till they arrived at the port now called St. Juan de Ulua, where they had no ſooner come to an anchor, between the iſland and the main land, than two large canoes, called piraguas, came with Indians from the neighbouring coaſt, and on their drawing near began to ſpeak in a language which Aguilar did not underſtand ; a circumſtance that very much chagrined Cortes, from his apprehending that the want of an interpreter would be a great obſtacle to the ſucceſs of his enterprize ; but Mariana gueſſing his concern by his looks, told Aguilar in the Yucatan tongue, that the people ſpoke the Mexican language, and deſired audience of the general on the part of the governor of that province. Cortes, being rejoiced at finding that ſhe underſtood their meaning, deſired them to come on board, and deliver their meſſage. This

woman was a daughter of a Cacique of one of the provinces ſubject to the Emperor of Mexico, but in her youth had been carried to a Mexican garriſon, on the confines of Yucatan; after which, by ſome misfortune became a ſlave to the Cacique of Tabaſco, who made a preſent of her to Cortes. As this woman was not yet acquainted with the language of Spain, ſhe interpreted to Aguilar in the Yucatan tongue, what the Mexican ſaid, and he imparted it to Cortes in the Caſtillian. By this double interpretation the general learned that Pilpatoe, governor, and Teutile, captain-general of that province, had ſent to know with what intention they came on their coaſt: when Cortes preſenting them with a few baubles, and treating them with ſome Spaniſh wine, told them, that he came as a friend to treat of matters of great importance to their Prince, and the whole empire, for which purpoſe he would meet the two governors.

CHAPTER III.

Cortes gives Audience to two Mexican Officers. Sends a preſent to Montezuma, and receives one from that Prince. The State of the Mexican Empire, and the Apprehenſions of Montezuma, who ſends a ſecond preſent to Cortes, with expreſs orders to leave the coaſt. Cortes artfully puts a ſtop to the murmurs of the people.

ON Good Friday the Spaniards landed, and having got their horſes and artillery on ſhore, Cortes directed the ſoldiers to cut faſcines, in order to entrench themſelves, and to build a ſufficient number of huts to ſhelter them from the exceſſive

heat of the ſun, when Teutile ſending a great number of the natives, Cortes kept himſelf upon his guard, and planted his artillery in ſuch a manner as to command the country. On Eaſter day he was viſited by Teutile and Pilpatoe, attended by a very great retinue; he received them with extraordinary ſtate, ſurrounded by his officers and ſoldiers. The firſt compliments being paſſed, and it being the hour of divine ſervice, he conducted them to a large hut, and ordered Aguilar and Mariana to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the deſign of his voyage he ought to comply with the duty of his religion, and to recommend to the God of all other gods the ſucceſs of his propoſal. After ſervice was over, Cortes returned to his quarters, where the two generals were entertained at dinner, in as ſplendid a manner as poſſible, and that being ended, he called his interpreters, and then with a determined air told them, that he came to treat with the Emperor Montezuma, on the part of Don Carlos of Auſtria, monarch of the eaſt, on affairs of great importance, both with reſpect to himſelf and all his ſubjects; for this reaſon it was neceſſary for him to appear before his royal preſence, to which he hoped to be admitted, with all the reſpect due to the greatneſs of the king his maſter.

Cortes's gueſts appeared alarmed at this declaration, and before they returned an anſwer ordered their attendants to bring in the preſent they had brought with them. Upon which 20 or 30 perſons entered loaded with proviſions, fine cloth, feathers of various colours, and a large box, in which were ſeveral pieces of gold, curiouſly wrought. Then turning to Cortes, Teutile deſired him to accept that ſmall preſent from two of Montezuma's ſlaves, who had orders to entertain ſuch ſtrangers as landed upon his coaſt: but begged he would not think

of profecuting his defign, it being no eafy matter to fpeak with their prince. To this Cortes replied with fome warmth, that kings never refufed to hear the ambaffadors of other princes, and that their bufinefs was to acquaint Montezuma with his arrival, and that he was refolved to fee him before he left the country.

The Indian generals, confounded at this boldnefs, earneftly intreated Cortes not to move from his quarters, till they had received Motezuma's anfwer; affuring him that in the mean time, they would fupply him with every thing neceffary for the fupport of his foldiers.

During this conference, fome Mexican painters, who came in the general's train, were bufily employed in drawing upon cotton cloths, the fhips, foldiers, arms, artillery, horfes, and every thing elfe that appeared remarkable, which they introduced into different landfkips that were no way contemptible, either for the drawing or colouring. Thefe pictures were defigned by Teutile to give Montezuma fome idea of what appeared too extraordinary to be fully defcribed by words: but here and there were placed fome characters, which feemed to explain the picture.

Cortes being informed of what thefe painters were doing, went out to fee them, when obferving that thefe figures wanted action to expref the valour of his troops, he ordered them to arms, drew them up in a body, and commanded the artillery to be made ready; then telling *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe*, that he would entertain them after the manner of his country; he mounted his horfe, with his captains who marched two and two, to the amazement of the Indians, who feeing fuch ftately animals fo obedient to their riders, imagined that there was fomething fupernatural in thofe who could manage them with fuch eafe and dex-

terity. Cortes then divided his troops into two bodies, gave a mock fight, and at a ſignal given they diſcharged their muſkets, and ſoon after the artillery; when the confuſion and aſtoniſhment of theſe people were ſo great, that ſome fell down upon the ground, others began to fly, and thoſe who had moſt preſence of mind were fixed to the ſpot, with terror and admiration. Cortes now endeavoured to diſſipate their apprehenſions by aſſuring them, that theſe were only military diviſions. The painters immediately began to repreſent the Spaniards armed and drawn up in ranks; the horſes in the attitude of their exerciſes, and the artillery with fire and ſmoak. Mean while Cortes returned to his houſe with the two generals, and after having made them a preſent, prepared one for Montezuma, conſiſting of ſeveral poliſhed looking glaſſes, a holland ſhirt, a cap of crimſon velvet, adorned with a gold medal, and a tapeſtry chair.

Teutile and Pilpatoe, at length ſeemed much pleaſed with their entertainment, took their leave; but retiring only to a ſmall diſtance, held a conſultation, in which it was agreed, that the latter ſhould remain on that ſpot to obſerve the motions of the Spaniards. Pilpatoe's attendants immediately began to build houſes, and a conſiderable village was formed in a few hours; but leſt Cortes ſhould be offended at this ſtep, he ſent to inform him that he ſtaid there in order to be at hand to provide for his entertainment, and to ſupply his troops with proviſions. Though Cortes gueſſed his real intention, he took no notice of his ſuſpicions, and Pilpatoe continued to ſupply him with proviſions in great plenty. Mean while, Teutile diſpatched meſſengers to Montezuma, with an account of what had happened, with the pictures drawn by his order, and Cortes's preſent.

Montezuma was provided with a great number of couriers choſen from the ſwifteſt of the Indians, who were diſtributed along all the principal roads of the kingdom, and rewards were paid out of the public treaſury to thoſe who firſt arrived at the appointed place. Theſe couriers were relieved at every town, which occaſioned all diſpatches to be carried with ſurpriſing expedition, and an anſwer was returned from Mexico within ſeven days, though the diſtance from that city to Juan de Ulua amounts to ſixty leagues. Montezuma's meſſage to Cortes was brought by Teutile with that prince's preſent, which was carried by one hundred Indians, and conſiſted of very fine cotton robes and many curioſities formed of feathers, where the beautiful variety of the colours were ſo mixed and diſpoſed, by the ſkill of the artiſt, that without making uſe of artificial colours, or of the pencil, they formed curious pictures, and a very fine imitation of natural objects. They alſo brought a great number of bows, arrows, and targets made of the fineſt wood; two large circular plates, the one of gold repreſenting the ſun: and the other of ſilver with the figure of the moon; and a conſiderable quantity of precious ſtones, pieces of gold, gold collars, rings, pendants and other ornaments of the ſame metal, in the ſhape of birds and beaſts, ſo curiouſly wrought that the workmanſhip ſeemed to exceed the value of the metal. Theſe ſeveral articles being placed in order, upon matts made of palm-tree leaves, Teutile turned to Cortes and told him, by the interpreters, that the great emperor Montezuma had ſent him theſe things in return for his preſent, and to ſhew him how much he valued the friendſhip of the king his ſovereign; but it was neither convenient nor poſſible at that time to admit him to his court. Cortes returned thanks for the pre-

ſent, and anſwered, that it was far from his deſign to be wanting in obedience to Montezuma, but that he could not diſhonour a king that was reſpected among the greateſt princes in the world, by returning without fulfilling his orders.

Cortes now directed Franciſco de Montejo, one of his captains, to cruiſe with two veſſels along the coaſt, to take a view of the towns without landing, and to ſearch for ſome harbour where the ſhips might be better ſheltered from the winds.

Montezuma was at firſt incenſed at Cortes's perſeverance in his demand, and, in the firſt tranſports of his reſentment, propoſed inſtantly to deſtroy thoſe inſolent ſtrangers who preſumed to diſpute his will; but rage no ſooner ſubſided, than it was ſucceeded by ſorrow and conſternation. He held private councils with his miniſters, public ſacrifices were offered in the temples, and ſuch marks of diſturbance and confuſion were viſible in his whole behavior, that the people began to talk without reſerve, of ſome ſigns and preſages that were ſuppoſed to be indications of the approaching ruin of the empire.

The Empire of Mexico was then in its greateſt glory, having under its dominion a prodigious extent of country, governed either by Montezuma in perſon, or by many other petty kings or Caciques, who were his tributaries. It extended in length about 1500 miles, in ſome places it was 600 broad, and it was in general a populous, plentiful and rich country. This empire from a very ſmall beginning had riſen to ſuch an heighth of power and greatneſs in little more than 130 years, during which time the Mexicans ſubdued all the neighbouring ſtates. They were at firſt governed by a military chief; but in the progreſs of their conqueſts they choſe a king, and gave the ſupreme dominion to him who had the greateſt reputation for valour,

without paying any other regard to hereditary ſucceſſion than that of preferring thoſe of the royal family, when they were not excelled by the merit of any other competitor.

The emperor Montezuma, the ſecond of the name, and the eleventh ſovereign of Mexico, was of the royal blood. In his youth he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in war, and obtained the reputation of a brave general, which, together with his exerting the arts of popularity, had raiſed him to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people. He had reigned fourteen years when Cortes arrived on his coaſt, and is repreſented by the Spaniſh writers, perhaps to palliate the cruelty of his conquerors, as one of the greateſt tyrants recorded in hiſtory. Juan Grijalva had landed in his dominions the year before, and it is ſaid that about that time there happened many prodigies which were ſuppoſed to preſage the ruin of his empire; ſuch as a dreadful comet appearing in the night, the lake of Mexico overflowed its banks with great impetuoſity, though the weather was calm and dry, and the people even imagined, that they heard lamentable voices in the air, foretelling the diſſolution of that empire. Theſe ſigns and portents, ſome of which were, perhaps, invented by the diſaffected, made a very deep impreſſion on the mind of Montezuma, and diſturbed his counſellors to ſuch a degree that, when they received a ſecond meſſage from Cortes, they concluded that they were utterly ruined. Some however imagined that the portents were ſent as warnings to prevent their diſtruction, by putting them upon their guard: while others thought the Spaniards ought to be received with the reſpect due to creatures of an higher rank, who had given the moſt dreadful proofs of an amazing courage and an invincible power, ſupported by the thunder and lightning of Heaven. Mon-

tezuma attended to their debates, and at length reſolved to ſend another preſent to Cortes, with orders to leave the coaſt, and in caſe of his refuſal, to levy a powerful army, and to act againſt him with all his forces.

While Montezuma's court was employed in theſe deliberations, Franciſco de Montejo, whom Cortes had ſent to examine the coaſt, returned from his cruiſe, having found at the diſtance of ſome leagues to the northward a town called Quiabiſlan, ſituated in a fertile and well cultivated ſoil, near a bay, where the ſhips might ride at anchor in ſafety, under the ſhelter of ſome high rocks. This place was about twelve leagues diſtant from St. Juan de Ulua, and Cortes was beginning to think of removing thither, when his reſolution was ſuſpended by the arrival of Teutile with the principal captains of his troops, who came to him burning incenſe in little perfuming pans, and, after the ceremony of fumigation, produced Montezuma's ſecond preſent, which conſiſted of the ſame particulars as thoſe of which the firſt had been compoſed, though in a ſmaller quantity, together with three green ſtones reſembling emeralds to be preſented to the king of Spain, as jewels of ineſtimable value. Theſe were delivered with expreſs orders to Cortes and his followers to leave the country without delay; but the Spaniards ſtill inſiſting that they would ſee the monarch in perſon, Teutile ſtarted up with marks of anger and confuſion, and told Cortes that hitherto Montezuma had treated him as a gueſt, and it would be his own fault if he was uſed as an enemy. He then, without waiting for an anſwer, abruptly departed, and was followed by Pilpatoe and the reſt of his attendants.

Cortes immediately ordered the guards to be doubled, and the next day the Spaniards had the

mortification to find that the Indians who inhabited Pilpatoe's cabins were retired; that thoſe who uſed to bring them proviſions were gone, and that there was not an Indian to be ſeen. The apprehenſion of their wanting neceſſaries now raiſed a ſpirit of diſcontent among the ſoldiers, which was fomented by ſome of them who were the friends to Velaſquez, who began to exclaim, that Cortes from mere ambition purſued a raſh deſign, without a force proportioned to the undertaking, which would infallibly end in his deſtruction, as well as in that of his followers, unleſs they returned to Cuba to refit the fleet and to reinforce the army.

Cortes was well acquainted with theſe murmurs, but learning from his friends that the majority were on his ſide, he appeared before the malcontents, when Diego de Ordaz, in the name of the reſt, remonſtrated with ſome warmth, that as his forces were very unequal to the deſign of ſubduing a mighty empire, it was high time to return to Cuba, where they might be reinforced in ſuch a manner as would enable them to purſue this great deſign with ſome probability of ſucceſs.

Cortes, though highly provoked at this advice, which oppoſed all his ambitious views, replied with great compoſure, that thoſe who complained muſt be weary of that uninterrupted ſucceſs, which had exceeded their higheſt hopes; their ſucceſs at Cozumel, and their victory at Tabaſco; but that he had no inclination to lay the leaſt reſtraint upon his ſoldiers, and ſince they were unwilling to proceed, he would immediatlely prepare for their return to Cuba. He ſoon after gave directions for returning to that iſland, and ordered the captains to embark with their reſpective companies, that they might be ready to ſail the next morning: but this declaration was no ſooner made public than his emiſſaries according to the directions they had

received, began to exclaim with great warmth that Cortes had deceived them, by profeſſing that he was reſolved to make a ſettlement in that country, which notwithſtanding their unexpected ſucceſs he was on the point of deſerting, and that if he had a mind to abandon the enterprize, he might with ſuch as were willing to follow him; for they would ſoon find another gentleman who would aſſume the command. This clamour was ſo artfully managed, that it brought over many of thoſe who had eſpouſed the contrary party, and they encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that ſome of Cortes's friends were obliged to interpoſe, in order to put a ſtop to the diſturbance they themſeves had raiſed. They commended the reſolution of theſe men, and offered to deſire Cortes to ſuſpend the execution of his order, and, without giving them time to cool, went directly to their general, attended by many of the ſoldiers, in whoſe preſence they told him in a high ſtrain, that the troops were upon the point of mutinying on account of the order he had given for their reimbarkation, which they ſuppoſed was contrary to the advice of their captains, and unworthy of the courage of Spaniards, who ought to be overcome by no difficulties or dangers. Cortes concealed the joy he felt at the ſucceſs of his expedient and coolly replied that he had been miſinformed, that he would proceed with ſuch as were willing; but would conſtrain nobody, and therefore would cauſe a ſhip to be provided for carrying back to Cuba thoſe who wanted the courage to follow him and his friends. This reply was received with acclamations of joy, and had ſuch an effect, that thoſe who were diſſatisfied carefully concealed their diſcontent.

CHAPTER IV.

Cortes makes a Settlement to which he gives the Name of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz: marches to Quiabiſlan, and in his way concludes an Alliance with the Cacique of Zempoalla: He ſeizes Montezuma's Commiſſaries; forms a ſtrong Confederacy of the Indian Caciques; builds the Town of Vera Cruz, and receives another Embaſſy from Montezuma.

CORTES had no ſooner put a ſtop to the diſſention which had ariſen among his people, than he was viſited by five deputies from the Cacique of Zempoalla, a neighbouring province in the road to the place where he intended to remove his quarters, who came to offer him the friendſhip and alliance of their maſter. They differed in their habit from the Mexican chiefs, though like them they had rings in their ears and lips, to which hung jewels. Cortes gave them a very civil reception, ordered them to be well treated, and was greatly pleaſed at hearing that the Zempoallans, though tributary to Montezuma, were diſſatisfied with his yoke, and repreſented him as a proud and cruel prince: whence he foreſaw that he ſhould be able to engage theſe people to facilitate his future ſucceſs. He therefore diſmiſſed the deputies with preſents, and with orders to aſſure the Cacique of his friendſhip, and of his paying him a viſit in his way to Quiabiſlan.

Cortes, in order to diveſt himſelf of his uneaſy dependance upon Velaſquez, and to remove his want of legal authority, laid, in concert with his friends, the plan of a corporation to be eſtabliſhed in ſome place on the continent, and ſeveral perſons were choſen to fill the offices of government.

Theſe immediately appointed a clerk of the council, with other inferior officers, and, having taken the accuſtomed oaths to act according to the rules of juſtice, and their duty to God and the king, began to exerciſe their functions. The next morning the council being aſſembled, under the pretence of conſulting the augmentation and preſervation of the ſettlement to be made, which was to have the name of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, Cortes deſired admitance, to propoſe an affair relating to the public welfare. The council roſe up to receive him, and he paying his reſpects to the magiſtracy, went and took his ſeat next to the firſt Regidore, and then laid open the reaſons which had induced him to diſapprove the commiſſion under which he had acted. He then threw upon the table what he had received from Diego Velaſquez; kiſſed the truncheon; delivered it into the hand of the Alcade, and then retired to his houſe, in the capacity of a private man. The council according to a preconcerted agreement unanimouſly admitted of his reſignation, and with the ſame unanimity voted that he ſhould be appointed general of the army, and that they would make out a new commiſſion in the king's name, to be in force till they could know his majeſty's pleaſure. Then the people being aſſembled by a public crier, were acquainted with Cortes's reſignation, and the reſolution of the council; at which they expreſſed uncommon joy, and immediately proceeded to Cortes's houſe, with the Alcades and Regidores, who informed him that the town of Villa Rica had in the name of Don Carlos king of Spain, and with the conſent and approbation of the inhabitants in full council, choſen and appointed him general of the army in New Spain; and in caſe it were neceſſary, required and commanded him to take upon him that office for the public good, and his majeſty's ſervice.

Cortes accepted of this poſt with great reſpect, and began to govern the troops with a kind of authority that ſecured the obedience of the ſoldiers. The friends of Valaſquez, however, could not diſguiſe their vexation; but reſented this alteration in a very indiſcreet manner; they endeavoured to invalidate the authority of the council; loudly inveighed againſt the ambition of Cortes; and began to raiſe a diſſention that ſeemed to threaten the ruin of the expedition. Upon this Cortes ordered Diego de Ordaz, Pedro Eſcudero, and Juan Velaſquez de Leon to be ſeized, carried on board the fleet, and put in irons. This action ſtruck terror into the troops, and in order to improve it, he poſitively declared, that he would proceed againſt them as ſeditious perſons and diſturbers of the peace, and make them pay for their obſtinacy with the loſs of their heads. In this diſpoſition he continued ſeveral days, during which nobody was allowed to viſit them; but afterwards their friends were admitted, and among the reſt ſome of his confidents, who found means to reduce them to reaſon. He then ſuffered himſelf to be pacified, and ſo effectually conciliated their affections, that they afterwards ſtood by him with unſhaken fidelity.

Cortes now prepared for his leaving this part of the country, and having ordered the ſhips to ſail for the bay of Quiabiſlan, reſolved to march thither by land. In a few hours he reached the river of Zempoalla, which being very deep the troops croſſed in canoes, and other veſſels belonging to ſome fiſhermen, which they found on the ſhore, the horſes being obliged to ſwim. The army ſoon after arrived at ſome houſes in the diſtrict of Zempoalla, which they found entirely abandoned, and without either furniture or proviſions; though the natives left in their temples

ſeveral idols, with knives made of flint, and ſome miſerable remains of human victims. Here they firſt ſaw Mexican books, three or four of which were in the temples, and were ſuppoſed to contain the rites of their religion. Each was made of thin varniſhed cloth, folded in leaves and made up into volumes reſembling ours.

The Spaniards having placed proper guards, took up their quarters in the beſt houſes, and the next day continued their march; but ſaw not one perſon during the whole morning, until entering ſome very agreeable meadows they diſcovered twelve Indians, who were coming in ſearch of Cortes, with a preſent of fowls and bread from the Cacique of Zempoalla, who invited him to his town, where he had provided quarters for his troops. Cortes diſmiſſed ſix of the Indians, with thanks for the hoſpitality of their prince, and detained the reſt as guides to the town, which they told him was at the diſtance of a day's journey. At night they ſtaid in a ſmall village, where they were kindly entertained by the inhabitants.

In the morning the troops marched towards Zempoalla, following their guides, though with all imaginable precaution, as Cortes ſtill doubted the ſincerity of the Indians. Towards the evening, they were met by twenty Indians, who came from the town to receive Cortes, with an apology from the Cacique, who was kept at home by a natural impediment. Zempoalla was a large city that afforded a beautiful proſpect; it was ſituated between two rivers; the buildings were of ſtone whitened on the outſide with a ſort of ſhining lime, which at a diſtance had ſuch a noble effect, that one of the ſcouts returned in haſte to Cortes, crying aloud that the walls were of ſilver. At their entering it, the ſquares and ſtreets were filled with a multitude of people drawn together by curioſity, and the

Cacique himſelf appeared at the gate of his palace, ſupported by ſome of his nobles, for he was ſo extremely fat, that he could not move without much difficulty. A mantle of fine cotton, enriched with jewels, was thrown over his naked body, and he wore pendants in his ears and lips. On his approaching to ſalute Cortes, his unwieldy appearance made it neceſſary for that general to put a ſtop to the laughter of his ſoldiers: he received Cortes in his arms, and welcomed both him and the reſt of the captains in ſuch ſenſible expreſſions as created reſpect, and having deſired Cortes to repoſe himſelf after his journey, told him that he would viſit him at his lodgings, where they would converſe more at leiſure about their mutual intereſts. The troops then retired to the quarters provided for them in ſquare courts, furniſhed with a number of apartments, where they were plentifully accommodated with proviſions and other neceſſaries.

The Cacique ſoon after ſent a preſent to Cortes of jewels, gold and other curioſities, to the value of about 2000 pezoes, and followed this preſent in perſon, carried in a chair on the ſhoulders of the chief of his family, and attended by a ſplendid retinue. Cortes went out to receive him, and retiring to a private apartment with him and the interpreters, expatiated upon the grandeur of the king of Spain, and the errors of idolatry; telling him that the deſign of his coming with his valiant troops, was to redreſs wrongs, to puniſh violence, and to vindicate the cauſe of reaſon and juſtice. He artfully touched on this ſubject, in order to draw him to complain of Montezuma, that he might diſcover what advantage he might expect to reap from his reſentment againſt that prince; and indeed the words were no ſooner pronounced than he began to utter his complaints, and to obſerve

that the neighbouring Caciques groaned under the tyranny of Montezuma, who oppreſed his tributaries, and cauſed himſelf to be adored by his ſubjects, as if he had been one of their Gods; and concluded with obſerving, that he did not wiſh to engage Cortes in a quarrel with ſuch a potent emperor, whoſe power was irreſiſtible. Cortes immediately replied, that while he had juſtice on his ſide he ſhould pay but little regard to Montezuma's power: but that he was on his march to Quiabiſlan, where the injured and oppreſſed ſhould find him ready to redreſs their wrongs, and that in the mean time he might aſſure his friends and confederates, that he would willingly undertake their defence. In ſhort, having continued the converſation for ſome time, the Cacique took his leave highly ſatisfied, while Cortes was equally pleaſed at the proſpect of ſtrengthening his intereſt by ſuch a powerful alliance.

When the troops were ready to march, they found 400 Indians provided to carry their baggage and proviſions, and to help to conduct the artillery. Theſe carriers were called Tamens, and were able to travel five or ſix leagues in a day, with three-quarters of a hundred weight on their backs. The country they now entered was fertile and pleaſant, a part of it was laid out in corn fields, and the reſt covered with trees. They ſtaid all night at a little village they found deſerted, and the next morning arrived at Quiabiſlan, a town ſtrongly ſituated upon a rock with the avenues to it narrow and ſteep. But though this place was naturally ſtrong they entered it without oppoſition, nor did they perceive any perſon till, coming to a ſquare in which the Indian temples were placed, fourteen or fifteen of the natives handſomely adorned with feathers came out to meet them. Cortes encouraged them by his affability, and gave

them ſome glaſs beads, when recovering their ſpirits, they informed him that their Cacique had retired in order to avoid a war, as he neither choſe to deny them admittance, nor to truſt his perſon among armed troops that were entirely unknown to him, and that the inhabitants could not be prevented from following his example; but that as ſoon as they ſhould be ſenſible of the goodneſs of ſuch gueſts, they would return to their houſes, and eſteem it their happineſs to ſerve and obey them. Cortes gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his friendſhip, and while they were gone with the news, gave ſtrict orders to the ſoldiers, to behave with great civility to theſe Indians, who ſoon ſhewed the confidence they placed in the Spaniards; for ſome families returned that very night, and in a little time the town was filled with its inhabitants.

Some time after the Cacique himſelf returned, and was introduced by the Cacique of Zempoalla, both of whom were carried on men's ſhoulders and the latter made an handſome excuſe for his friend. The converſation turned upon the tyranny of Montezuma, whom they repreſented as a monſter, who not only impoveriſhed them by the tribute he demanded, but robbed them of their wives and daughters, with whoſe blood he ſtained the altars of his Gods, after having ſacrificed their honour to more ſhameful purpoſes.

In the midſt of their diſcourſe they were interrupted by the entrance of two or three Indians, who ſeemed in a great fright, and whiſpering the Caciques, put them in ſuch confuſion, that they changed colour, and haſtily retired. The cauſe of this diſorder was inſtantly known, for ſix commiſſaries from Montzuma were ſeen paſſing before the quarters of the Spaniards, richly adorned with feathers and pendants of gold, and attended by a

number of inferior officers and ſervants, who cooled them with fans made of feathers. Cortes went to the gate to ſee them, when they paſſed by without paying him the leaſt reſpect, and with ſuch a contemptuous look, that the ſoldiers would have immediately chaſtiſed them, had they not been reſtrained by their general, who contented himſelf with ſending Marina with a ſufficient guard to know the cauſe of their coming. By this means he underſtood, that the commiſſaries, after having ſeated themſelves in the Town-houſe, ſummoned the Caciques to appear before them, and having ſharply reprimanded them for preſuming to entertain the emperor's enemies, demanded over and above the ordinary tribute, twenty Indians to be ſacrificed to their gods, as an atonement for their crime. Cortes no ſooner received this intelligence, than he ordered ſome ſoldiers to bring the Caciques without noiſe, and telling them that he knew the inhuman purpoſe of the commiſſaries, which he would not ſuffer them to obey, he deſired them to aſſemble their people, to ſeize the Mexicans, and to leave the reſt to his conduct.

The Caciques at firſt refuſed to comply with this bold command, until Cortes repeating his order in a peremptory manner, they went and executed it; and having ſeized Montezuma's miniſters, put them in a kind of pillory in their priſons, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who demanded that they ſhould either die the death of traitors, or be inſtantly ſacrificed to their gods. Cortes however refuſed to grant this requeſt, and having ſecured them by a guard of Spaniſh ſoldiers, retired to his quarters, in order to contrive ſome method of extricating himſelf from the difficulty in which he was involved. He was unwilling to come to an open rupture with Montezuma, and yet thought it neceſſary to ſupport the party he

had already formed againſt that prince, in order to have their aſſiſtance, in caſe he ſhould happen to want it. In conſequence of theſe reflections, he, at midnight, ſent privately for two of the priſoners, whom he treated in a very obliging manner, told them they were at liberty, and as he had reſtored their freedom, they might aſſure their prince that he would ſpeedily endeavour to releaſe the reſt of their companions, and to make the Caciques ſenſible of their fault. The Mexicans heard this declaration with equal joy and aſtoniſhment, but durſt not ſet out on their journey, for fear of being killed or taken by the way; the Spaniſh ſoldiers were therefore ordered to conduct them to the bay, and one of the ſhips boats carried them beyond the diſtrict of Zempoalla.

The next morning the Caciques came to Cortes, and expreſſing great concern at the eſcape of the priſoners, he received the news with the appearance of much ſurprize and vexation; but propoſed, in order to prevent any accident of the like kind for the future, to take care of the reſt himſelf, and immediately ordered them to be carried on board the fleet, giving private directions for their being civilly entertained. Thus without loſing the confidence of the Caciques, he conferred an obligation upon Montezuma, the greatneſs of whoſe power made him unwilling to provoke his reſentment.

The moderation with which the Spaniards behaved towards their allies, was quickly made known to the neighbouring diſtricts, and in a few days, Cortes was viſited by above thirty Caciques of the mountains within ſight of Quiabiſlan, where were numerous ſettlements of a rude people called Totonaques, who were remarkable for their ſtrength, activity, and courage; theſe ſwore to be faithful to the king of Spain, and offered to aſſiſt

Cortes againſt Montezuma, with an incredible number of armed Indians.

Cortes now reſolved to ſettle the corporation of Villa Rica de la Cruz, which had hitherto moved with the army; for which purpoſe he pitched upon a plain between Quiabiſlan and the ſea, where the ſoil was extremely fertile, well watered with rivers, and abounded with trees that were commodiouſly ſituated for the cutting of timber for building. They began with laying the foundation of a church, and the Spaniards, being aſſiſted by their Indian friends, both that and the houſes were ſoon erected; for the officers, and even Cortes himſelf ſet an example to the reſt, by performing the moſt difficult work; by which means the town was ſoon completed, and encompaſſed with a mud wall ſufficient to defend it againſt all the methods of attack uſed by the Indians.

In the mean time Montezuma being informed, that the Cacique of Zempoalla, whoſe fidelity was ſuſpected, had admitted the ſtrangers into his town, reſolved not only to chaſtiſe this rebellious tributary, but to march in perſon againſt the Spaniards, whom, we are told, he deſtined as a ſacrifice to his gods. But his preparations for this enterprize were ſuſpended by the arrival of the two Indians who had been releaſed by Cortes. Theſe gave an account of their impriſonment; of their owing their liberty to the captain of the ſtrangers; of his courteous treatment, and the meſſage he had ordered them to deliver; upon which Montezuma's anger was mitigated, and he reſolved again to have recourſe to a negotiation, in order to endeavour to divert Cortes from his deſign.

The Mexican ambaſſadors arrived juſt as the new ſettlement and fortreſs of Vera Cruz was completed. Theſe were two young men who

were the emperor's nephews, attended by four ancient Caciques, who were to ſerve as counſellors. They had a ſplendid retinue, and the preſent, which conſiſted of gold, feathers and cotton, was valued by the Spaniards at 2000 pieces of eight.

They told Cortes that the emperor had determined to chaſtiſe the Cacique, till the account he had received of his behaviour had induced him to ſuſpend his vengence ; that he however hoped he would ſoon quit that country, ſince the obſtacles which oppoſed his coming to court, were in their own nature inſurmountable.

Cortes according to his uſual cuſtom, received the preſents made him by the emperor, with great reſpect, and ordering the four impriſoned officers to be brought aſhore, delivered them to the ambaſſadors ; obſerving that he was highly pleaſed at having ſuch an opportunity of ſhewing his regard to the emperor. That he thought the inſolence of the Caciques in ſome meaſure excuſeable, from the extravagant behaviour of the officers themſelves, who, not ſatisfied with the uſual tribute, had the inhumanity to demand twenty Indians for their ſacrifices. That he thought himſelf obliged to the Caciques for admitting and entertaining him in their territories, and therefore could not help interceding with Montezuma in their behalf ; eſpecially as they, together with the Caciques of the mountains, were now in a peculiar manner under his protection ; that he would communicate the particulars of his embaſſy when he ſhould appear in the emperor's preſence, and that no impediments or danger ſhould prevent his receiving that favour. With this reſolute anſwer, and ſome preſents to the ambaſſadors, and others for Montezuma, he diſmiſſed them, greatly diſſatisfied at his obſtinacy : while this circumſtance heightened the ad-

admiration of the Indians, who were aſtoniſhed at ſeeing the haughty Montezuma ſolicit his friendſhip with ſuch preſents.

CHAPTER V.

Cortes is prevailed upon by falſe pretences to engage in an expedition againſt the inhabitants of Zimpazingo. He demoliſhes the idols of Zempoalla, and returns to Vera Cruz; where a conſpiracy being formed againſt him, he orders the ſhips to be ſunk.

A SHORT time after this event, the Cacique of Zempoalla came to Vera Cruz, and told Cortes, that the time was now come for him to protect his country againſt the Mexicans, who had arrived at Zimpazingo, whence they made excurſions into his diſtrict, deſtroying the corn fields, and committing other acts of hoſtility. Cortes thought himſelf obliged to ſupport his new allies, and that it would not become him to ſuffer the inſolence of the Mexicans, in a manner within his ſight. He therefore deſired the Cacique to provide Indians to carry his baggage, and draw his artillery; which being done, he ſet out at the head of 400 Spaniards, leaving the reſt in the fortreſs of Vera Cruz. On his paſſing by Zempoalla, he was joined by 2000 armed Indians, aſſembled by the Cacique, to ſerve under him in this expedition. The ſame night he quartered his troops three leagues from Zimpazingo, and the next day in the afternoon diſcovered the town ſituated on the top

of a ſmall hill among great rocks, which concealed part of the buildings, and rendered it difficult of acceſs.

The Spaniards with much fatigue paſſed over the rocks, without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance; but juſt as they were preparing to attack the town in ſeveral places at once, eight ancient prieſts appeared, clothed in black mantles that reached to the ground, the upper part was gathered about the neck, and a piece hung looſe in the form of a hood; they had long hair which was clotted, and their hands and faces ſtained, with the blood of human ſacrifices. Theſe men approached the general with marks of moſt humble ſubmiſſion, and ſoon convinced him that he had been impoſed upon; ſince Montezuma's troops had retired ſome time before, and that this was only an artifice of his allies, who were their inveterate enemies, in order to make him the inſtrument of their deſtruction. Cortes being provoked at the deceit, ordered the captains Olido and Alvarado to march with their companies, and aſſemble the Indians, who had advanced before to get into the town. They were now buſy in plundering it, and making priſoners, and being brought into his preſence, loaded with booty, and followed by the miſerable inhabitants crying aloud for juſtice, he commanded them to deliver up the goods to the prieſts, that they might reſtore them to the proper owners. Then called for the Zempoallan captains, told them with a threatning voice, that they had forfeited their lives by their preſumption, in engaging him, by deceit, to compaſs their revenge. However he ſuffered himſelf to be appeaſed by the interceſſion of his own officers, whom he had before inſtructed for that purpoſe, though, indeed, he did not dare to puniſh them, for fear of loſing the friendſhip of his new allies. Having thus repri-

manded the Zempoallans, he ordered them to lodge without the town, while he himſelf entering it with the Spaniards, was received with the applauſes due to a deliverer, and viſited by the Cacique, with others in that neighbourhood, who voluntarily acknowledged themſelves ſubject to the king of Spain. He now formed a ſcheme for reconciling theſe Indians and the Zempoallans, which he had the happineſs to effect; and having made them friends, he returned to Vera Cruz, leaving his reputation and intereſt highly advanced by the iſſue of this expedition, which he had too credulouſly undertaken; and thus, like a conſummate politician, he made even his very errors contribute to his grand deſign.

In his march back to Zempoalla, he paſſed by two towns, belonging to thoſe who were newly entered into the confederacy, when he obſerved a ſoldier ſteal a couple of hens, at which he was ſo provoked that he ordered him to be inſtantly hanged; but permitted Peter Alvarado to cut him down with his ſword before he was dead.

On his return, he found the Cacique of Zempoalla waiting for him at ſome diſtance from the town, with a large quantity of proviſions for the refreſhment of the army: when obſerving that chief appear aſhamed of his conduct, he aſſured him that he had laid aſide his diſpleaſure, and they having entered the town together, the Cacique made him a preſent of eight of the moſt beautiful virgins, who were of good families; they were adorned with gold necklaces and pendants, and attended by ſeveral women ſervants. Seven of theſe the Cacique allotted for the captains, and the other being his own niece, he recommended as a wife to Cortes, in order that their friendſhip might be ſtrengthened by the ties of blood. The general returned him thanks, and let him know that it

was not lawful for a Spaniard to marry any woman that was an idolater, and took this opportunity of declaring againſt their idolatry and ſuperſtition.

Soon after the Zempoallans aſſembled on one of their moſt ſolemn feſtivals, in order to offer human ſacrifices, which were performed with horrible ceremonies; when the wretched victims being cut to pieces were ſold to the people as ſacred food. Cortes being ſoon informed of this affair, was filled with indignation, and forgetting every other motive, ordered the Cacique and the principal Indians who attended him to be brought before him, and with them proceeded to the temple, followed by his troops. The prieſts being informed of his approach, immediately ran to the gate, and with loud and hedious outcries called the people to the defence of their gods. At which time ſome armed Indians poſted themſelves in the avenue of the temple; when Cortes, ſeeing the inhabitants aſſembled in great numbers, ordered Marina to tell him aloud, that the firſt arrow they ſhould let fly, he would order the throat of the Cacique and all the principal Indians in his power to be cut, and then puniſh their preſumption with fire and ſword. The Cacique trembled at this dreadful menace, and commanding them to lay down their arms and retire, they obeyed with the utmoſt expedition. Cortes then began to declaim againſt the barbarity and abſurdity of their religion, and at length propoſed to the Indians, that they themſelves ſhould aſcend the ſteps, and overthrow the idols with their own hands, but proſtrating themſelves upon the ground, they declared with tears and the moſt dreadful lementations, that they would ſuffer all the extremeſt tortures he could invent, rather than be guilty of committing ſuch impious ſacrilege. But giving the ſame command to his ſoldiers, the idols were in an inſtant thrown

down and broken to pieces; while the Indians ſtood motionleſs with horror, every moment expecting to ſee the immediate vengeance of heaven fall on theſe impious men; but at length perceiving that they remained unhurt, and that the gods were unable to defend themſelves, joined with the Spaniards in burning the fragments of their idols; and the next day maſs was celebrated in that very temple.

The Spaniards now returned to Vera Cruz; and on the day they reached that new colony, a veſſel arrived from Cuba, commanded by Franciſco de Salcedo, which brought captain Luis Martin, ten ſoldiers and two horſes. By theſe gentlemen the general was informed, that Valaſquez had obtained the title of king's lieutenant of the iſland of Cuba, with a commiſſion to trade and make ſettlements in the new diſcovered countries, and that he reſolved to put a ſtop to Cortes's proceedings. Upon this information, the latter was determined to lay the affair before the king; at his deſire the council of Vera Cruz wrote a particular account of the expedition and of Valaſquez's injurious behaviour towards him; beſeeching his majeſty, in conſideration of his great merit, to grant him the commiſſion of captain-general, that he might exert himſelf in the ſervice of his country, without having any dependance on the governor of Cuba. While Cortes himſelf, in another letter, explained his reaſons for hoping that he ſhould be able to reduce the whole empire of Mexico to his majeſty's obedience. Theſe diſpatches were committed to Alonzo Hernandes Portocarrero and Franciſco Montejo: but Cortes thinking that the fifth part of the gold they had collected would be but a trifling preſent for the king, prevailed with the officers and ſoldiers to reſign their ſhares, and accordingly the above

officers embarked for Spain on the 16th of July 1519, with the gold, jewels, curioſities, together with ſome Indians who voluntarily conſented to perform the voyage; and with a particular preſent from Hernando to his father Martin Cortes.

Theſe deputies had been but juſt ſent to Spain, when ſome of the friends of Velaſquez privately concerted the means of eſcaping to Cuba, in order to give intelligence to Velaſquez of theſe proceedings; for which purpoſe they had ſecured one of the veſſels, and laid in proviſions for the voyage; but in the very night when they were going to embark, one of the accomplices went to Cortes and informed him of the whole ſcheme; when the latter took his meaſures with ſuch ſucceſs, that he ſeized all the perſons concerned; who being brought to their trial, two of the ringleaders were condemned to be hanged, two others were ordered to be whipt as old offenders, the principal mariner of the ſhip was ſentenced to looſe one of his feet, and the reſt were pardoned. Cortes had no ſooner ſigned the warrant for their execution, then he ſet out for Zempoalla, to prevent his being ſolicited to pardon the principal offenders.

Cortes being very much diſturbed at this conſpiracy, which might again break out ſo as to diſconcert his whole ſcheme, formed a reſolution, that at once evinced the greatneſs and intrepidity of his mind: this was to deſtroy the ſhips, that the ſoldiers being deprived of all means of eſcape, might act with greater ardour and unanimity, from their having no other choice but to conquer or die. Having communicated this important ſcheme to his confidents, they exerted themſelves among the ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that themſelves went to perſuade him to agree to it, and among other arguments argued, that there being one hundred mariners on board, they would greatly add to

their ſtrength, and bear a part of all their fatigues. Cortes ſeemed convinced by their reaſons, and a public inſtrument was drawn up by a notary, by which piece of ſubtilty he was ſaved from being under the obligation of paying for the ſhips, the whole army being equally bound for the payment of them. This being done, orders were given for bringing on ſhore the iron work, anchors, ſails, and every thing that might be of uſe, and then to ſink them all, except the boats, which were reſerved for fiſhing.

But no ſooner had Cortes taken this extraordinary ſtep, than all the advantage of it ſeemed to be deſtroyed by an accident that could not poſſibly be foreſeen, and which it was therefore impoſſible for him to avoid. This was the arrival of a ſmall ſquadron upon the coaſt, of which he received advice by an expreſs from Juan de Eſcalant. He immediately went to Vera Cruz, and at his arrival perceived one of the veſſels at anchor at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore, where were landed three Spaniards, one of whom was a public notary. Cortes went to them with a ſmall party, when the notary delivered to him a writing, which contained in ſubſtance, that the governor of Jamaica laid claim to a part of that country, and therefore ſent to inform Cortes, that he was not to make a ſettlement there. Cortes declined taking the paper, and very mildly told him, that it would be better if captain Pineda, who he underſtood was the commander of the ſquadron, would come on ſhore, in order that they might adjuſt the affair in an amicable manner; but the notary refuſing to carry this meſſage, and inſiſting in a diſreſpectful manner, upon having a direct anſwer to his notification, Cortes ordered them to be ſeized, and then waited all night behind a ſandhill near the ſhore, in hopes that others would

land from the ſhip. But finding that nobody came, he directed three of his men to put on the priſoners clothes, and to go down to the ſea ſide, where they were to make ſignals with their cloaks. In conſequence of this ſtratagem a boat came off from the ſhip with twelve men well armed, which being perceived by Cortes's ſoldiers, they retired under a tree, and four men landing from the boat with an Indian advanced towards them, without having the leaſt doubt of their being their own people. By which ſtratagem he alſo got theſe into his hands; when the boat's crew ſeeing what had happened, rowed back to the veſſel which ſoon after weighed anchor and ſtood to ſea. Theſe men readily inliſted in the ſervice, and Cortes returned to Zempoalla with a ſmall recruit of ſeven Spaniards, which was then eſteemed a very conſiderable reinforcement.

CHAPTER VI.

Cortes begins his march for Mexico, ſtays ſeveral days at Zocothlan and Xacazingo; ſends ambaſſadors to Tlaſcala; but his propoſals of peace being rejected, fights an obſtinate battle with the Tlaſcalans. Xicotencal, General of the Tlaſcalans, attacks the Spaniſh quarters by night; but is diveſted of his command, and the Tlaſcalans ſue for peace.

IN a few days after Cortes's return to Zempoalla, he drew up the army, forming a body of Spaniards for the van-guard, and another of Indians for the rear, commanded by three Caciques of the mountains; the ſtrongeſt of the carriers were reſerved for drawing the artillery, the reſt were loaded with the baggage, and having appointed an advanced party to reconnoitre, they

began their march toward Mexico, on the 16th of Auguſt, 1519, and in their way were kindly entertained at Jalapa, Socochima, and Texucla, towns belonging to the confederates, in each of which places he erected a croſs, while Cortes exhorted the people to forbear offering human ſacrifices. They now entered upon the rough part of the mountains, where they were obliged to march for three days over rocks and precipices, in very cold and rainy weather, without any thing to ſhelter themſeves from the inclemency of the air. Juſt as they reached the ſummit, their proviſions began to fail; they there found a temple, and a large quantity of wood, but made no ſtay, as they obſerved ſome villages on the other ſide of the mountain, to which they haſted with as much expedition as poſſible.

They now entered into the large and populous province of Zocathlan, where in a valley at the foot of a mountain, was a city of the ſame name, in which the Cacique reſided. Cortes ſent two Zempoallans to inform the prince of his arrival, who ſoon returned with a favourable anſwer. The Cacique came out of the city with a great retinue, and received the general with a kind of forced civility. The Spaniards here found very incommodious quarters, and only a ſmall quantity of proviſions. Cortes however concealed his reſentment, in order to give that prince no opportunity of engaging him in hoſtilities that would inevitably obſtruct his march.

The next day the Cacique viſited Cortes at his quarters, when the latter received him with great civility, and among other queſtions aſked whether he was ſubject to the emperor of Mexico; when the other replied, is there any man upon earth, who is not a ſlave to Montezuma! To which Cortes ſcornfully replied, That he himſelf, and thoſe who

accompanied him, obeyed another king, who had many ſubjects more powerful than Montezuma. But the Cacique, without attending to theſe words proceeded to diſplay the grandeur of his emperor, the provinces under his dominion, he ſaid, were innumerable, and obſerved that he had many lords who ſerved barefooted in his palace, with their eyes fixed on the ground; adding, that he reſided in the largeſt, moſt beautiful, and ſtrongeſt city in the univerſe, founded in the midſt of lakes. He then expatiated upon the immenſity of his riches, the ſtrength of his armies, and the miſery of his enemies, above 20,000 of whom were annually ſacrificed on the altars of his gods.

Cortes eaſily diſcovered the intent of his diſcourſe, which had been dictated by the court of Mexico, to deter him from proceeding; but ſeeming not to penetrate into his deſign, he replied, that he was already informed of Montezuma's grandeur, and that his embaſſy being peaceable, his men were appointed rather to ſhew his authority, than as a martial guard; but yet the moſt inconſiderable Spaniard was able to overthrow a whole army of Indians. That he ſought for peace: but if he was compelled to engage in war, he would deſtroy his enemies with fire and ſword; for nature would aſſiſt him with her prodigies, and heaven with its lightening. This rodomontade had a ſurprizing effect, and the Cacique was ſo over-awed by it, that he entirely altered his conduct, and ſupplied the Spaniards with proviſions in great plenty, during the five days Cortes ſtaid there, he even treated him with a prodigious reſpect, made him a preſent of four female ſlaves, and offered to give him 20 noble Indians for guides to his army.

Cortes now proceeded on his march to the province of Tlaſcala, that bordered upon Zocathlan, and for ſeveral days nothing conſiderable hap-

pened; but afterwards hearing that the whole country was in arms, he reſolved to halt at a ſmall town called Zacazingo, until he ſhould be better informed of their deſigns.

The province of Tlaſcala was about 50 leagues in circumference, and although the land was mountainous and uneven, it abounded with inhabitants. The capital was built upon different eminences. The people at firſt were governed by kings, until growing weary of their tyranny, they ſhook of the yoke, and formed themſelves into a commonwealth. The towns were divided into a certain number of diſtricts, each of which ſent are preſentative to Tlaſcala, where they formed a ſenate, whoſe reſolutions were obeyed by the whole province. Under this form of government they had long ſupported themſelves againſt the emperors of Mexico, and were then at their higheſt pitch of power; for Montezuma's cruelty had increaſed the number of their confederates, among whom was a warlike nation called the Otomies, equally famed for their barbarity and their valour.

To this republic Cortes ſent four of the principal Zempoallans, who were fully inſtructed by Aguilar and Marina, how to addreſs the ſenate, in demanding a paſſage for the Spaniards through their territories. They inſtantly put on the appearance of ambaſſadors, each wearing on his ſhoulder a wreathed cotton tippet knotted at the ends; in the right hand a large arrow, and on the left arm a target formed of tortoiſe-ſhell. Upon theſe occaſions when the purport of the embaſſy was war, the feathers of the arrow were red, but when the errand was peace, they were known and reſpected on the high roads; but if they turned aſide they forfeited their privileges.

Cortes's four envoys on their entering Tlaſcala, were conducted to a houſe ſet apart for the reception of ambaſſadors, and the next day brought in-

to the ſenate, the members of which roſe from their little chairs to bid them welcome. As the ambaſſadors entered, they held up their arrows on high, and wore their tippets on their heads as a mark of extraordinary veneration: then paying their reſpects to the ſenate, they proceeded ſlowly to the middle of the hall, where they kneeled with their eyes fixed upon the ground, continuing ſilent until the eldeſt ſenator deſired them to declare their buſineſs. They then ſeated themſelves upon their hams, and he who was choſen the orator, expreſſed himſelf to the following purpoſe; "Noble "republic, valiant Tlaſcalans; your friends and "allies the Lord of Zempoalla, and the moun- "tain Caciques, wiſhing you health, abundance, "and the deſtruction of your enemies, ſend us to "inform you, that an invincible race of men are "come from the eaſt, who ſeem to be more than "human; for they ſail upon palaces, and wield "the thunder and lightening. Yet they worſhip "an Almighty Being, who is offended at human "ſacrifices. The general is ambaſſador from a "mighty prince, who deſires to reform the abuſes "of our country, and repreſs the tyranny of Mon- "tezuma. He has already reſcued our provinces "from oppreſſion; and as he means to paſs "through your territories in his way to Mexico, "he deſires to be informed of your grievances, "that he may redreſs your wrongs. We have ex- "perienced his valour, and in the name of our "Caciques and confederates, deſire you to enter- "tain theſe ſtrangers." The ſpeech being concluded, the four Indians raiſed themſelves upon their knees, and making a profound reverence to the ſenate, ſeated themſelves again, expecting an anſwer.

After a ſhort conference, the ſenators told the ambaſſadors that they gratefully received the ſalutation of the confederates; but muſt deliberate

upon the anſwer to be returned to the ſtrangers. The Indians then retired to their lodgings, when Cortes's demand produced very obſtinate debates, ſome inſiſting upon repelling him by force of arms, and others propoſing a compliance with his requeſt. The chief of thoſe who eſpouſed pacific ſentiments, was an old ſenator named Magiſcatzen, a perſon of great authority in the republic, who reminded them of a prophecy, that an invincible race of men would come from the eaſt with ſuch dominion over the elements that they ſhould form floating cities upon the ſeas, and uſe fire and air to ſubdue the earth. Theſe ſtrangers he alleged were certainly the people foretold. They came from the eaſt; their arms were fire; they dwelt in floating houſes, and by their actions in Tabaſco proved themſelves invincible. He alleged that their arrival was predicted by ſignals from heaven, which it were impious to diſregard. That they had aſſiſted their allies, and only deſired a paſſage through their country, which they could not refuſe without being guilty of incivility to thoſe who had never injured them, and without diſreſpect to their allies, by whom they were ſo warmly recommended.

Magiſcatzen's ſpeech was received with applauſe; but the favourable diſpoſitions he inſpired were entirely changed by the interpoſition of Xicotencal, their general, a young man, animated by ambition, who, with equal eloquence, ridiculed the prophecy, and repreſented the Spaniards as common men, whoſe veſſels and arms were produced by human art, whoſe valour was not uncommon, and whoſe pride, cruelty, and avarice were intolerable, ſince they contemned the laws and cuſtoms of the Indians, thirſted after their gold, deſtroyed their temples, and blaſphemed their gods; and that with reſpect to the ſignals of heaven,

they ought to be interpreted as warnings to oppoſe and extirpate thoſe preſumptuous ſtrangers. He therefore earneſtly intreated that they would allow him to aſſemble the forces, and exterminate them at once, as oppreſſors of their country and the enemies of their religion.

Theſe arguments had great weight with a people ambitious of military glory: they therefore ordered their general to try his ſtrength with the chriſtians, but detained the ambaſſadors.

Cortes having waited eight days for the return of his ambaſſadors, determined to continue his march towards the city of Tlaſcala, that in caſe they were reſolved on hoſtilities, he might attack them before they were joined by their allies; by which prudent reſolution he prevented their obtaining time to guard a ſtrong wall, which was twenty feet thick, and nine feet high, with a parapet upon the top; it reached acroſs the valley, extending from one mountain to another, and had no other entrance but in the middle, where the two ends circularly croſſed each other for the ſpace of ten paces, and might have eaſily been defended againſt all invaders. The Spaniards having paſſed this wall without oppoſition, marched in good order with their artillery ready, and with advanced parties to prevent ſurprize. Theſe parties at length diſcovered twenty or thirty Indians at a conſiderable diſtance, who, by their plumes, appeared to be ſoldiers. Cortes inſtantly ſent his ſcouts with ſigns of peace, while he himſelf prepared to follow with eight horſe, giving orders for the infantry to advance at leiſure; but the Indians took to their heels, until having joined the main body, which was at ſome diſtance, they faced about, and ſtood in a poſture of defence. The eight horſe were now joined by ſix others, notwithſtanding which the Indians kept their ground

until they were reinforced by a body of 5000 men, who had lain in ambuſcade. At this inſtant the Spaniſh infantry came up, and formed themſelves into a battalion, to ſuſtain the fury with which the enemy advanced; but the firſt volley of the fire-arms, doing great execution, threw the Indians into diſorder. Of this the Spaniards taking advantage, fell upon them with ſuch reſolution, that in a ſhort time they quitted the field, leaving ſixty men killed, and ſome priſoners taken by the Spaniards. Cortes was not willing to have his men engage in the purſuit, but took poſſeſſion of ſome houſes that were in ſight, in which they found a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, and paſſed the night there.

The Spaniards proceeding on their march the next day, were oppoſed by a larger body of the enemy which advanced with great noiſe, and having diſcharged a flight of arrows and a large quantity of ſtones from their ſlings, retreated, making a kind of running fight; but Cortes imagining that this retreat was only a ſtratagem, followed in cloſe order, till having reached the top of a hill, he diſcovered a plain, where was an army of about 40,000 men, compoſed of various nations, diſtinguiſhed by the colours of their enſigns and their plumes. The Spaniards boldly marched down the hill, formed on the even ground, and moved on to the attack, while the Indians ſtill retired, until finding them at a diſtance from the hill, they opened to the right and left, and ran furiouſly to occupy the ground on both ſides, and then cloſing in a circle, ſurrounded the Spaniards, who found it neceſſary to throw themſelves into the form of an hollow ſquare, in order to ſuſtain the fury of the aſſailants. The air was ſoon darkened with the arrows, darts and ſtones, which fell upon the Spaniards, till the Indians obſerving the

little effect of theſe miſſive weapons, boldly attacked them with their pikes and ſwords. But the artillery ſwept down whole companies; the ſmall arms killed them in heaps, and Cortes breaking in among them with his horſe, flew and trampled under foot all that came in his way.

At length Cortes ſeeing the enemy fall back, placed his horſe on the wings, and being accompanied by the foot, charged them with redoubled vigour. They at firſt made a ſhow of reſiſtance; but the men on horſeback ſeeming ſupernatural, put them into diſorder, and they ſoon gave way on all ſides; while in this confuſion they wounded and trod one another under foot. During the battle, Pedro de Moron, who was mounted on horſeback, was ſurrounded and taken by the Indians, after having received ſeveral wounds; and though he was ſoon releaſed by the reſt of the cavalry, his horſe was killed.

By this time the Spaniards were greatly fatigued, and began to be dubious of ſucceſs, when the cries of the enemy ſuddenly ceaſed, and this ſilence was followed by the noiſe of horns and drums ſounding a retreat. The enemy then moving ſlowly off, left the field to the chriſtians: but notwithſtanding the loſs of moſt of their officers, they entered their quarters in triumph, with the horſe's head carried as a trophy before their general, who ſent it to Tlaſcala, where it was ſacrificed with extraordinary ſolemnity in one of the temples. Nine or ten of the Spaniſh ſoldiers, and many of the Zempoallans, who were fired by the example of the Spaniards, were wounded in this battle, which was no ſooner over, than Cortes obſerving a ſmall town on an eminence that commanded the country, marched thither, and had the ſatisfaction of finding it well ſupplied with

proviſions: but there not being ſufficient room to accommodate the whole army, the Zempoallans erected huts for themſelves, and raiſed ſome works of earth to ſecure the place, notwithſtanding its being ſtrong and of difficult acceſs.

The ſentiments of the Tlaſcalans were ſtill divided; for while ſome cried out for peace, others were equally eager for continuing the war; Xicotencal demanded ſupplies to revenge the loſs they had ſuffered, and one of the confederates arriving at the ſame time with 10,000 men, this ſuccour encouraged them to proſecute the war with freſh vigour. In the mean time, the four Zempoallan ambaſſadors returned by different ways to the Spaniards, and informed Cortes, that as ſoon as Xicotencal took the field, they were put in priſon, and deſtined by the Tlaſcalans as ſacrifices to the god of war, but they had happily found means to make their eſcape.

Though a profound ſtillneſs reigned throughout the country, Cortes was far from imagining that he was out of danger of being attacked by the Tlaſcalans, he therefore reſolved to maintain his poſt; but foreſeeing the Indians would interpret his inaction as proceeding from fear, he reſolved the next morning to reconnoitre the country, in order to gain intelligence; and therefore marched out with all his horſe, and 200 foot, which equally conſiſted of Spaniards and Zempoallans. He advanced as far as ſome villages on the road to Tlaſcala, where he found great ſtore of proviſions, and made ſeveral priſoners, by whom he was told that Xicotencal was encamped about two leagues from thence, and employed in recruiting and augmenting his army.

The Zempoallans being now highly incenſed againſt the Tlaſcalans, Cortes permitted them to deſtroy the country with fire and ſword, and then

returned to the camp, where he ſet at liberty all his priſoners, and among thoſe who had been taken the day before, he choſe two or three to carry a meſſage to Xicotencal, in which he expreſſed his concern for the loſs he had ſuſtained in the battle, which his nation had brought upon themſelves by rejecting the peaceable terms he had offered them; and deſired that he would now conſent to an accommodation, otherwiſe he ſhould make the name of Tlaſcala a terror to its neighbours. The priſoners at their departure promiſed to bring him an anſwer; and a few hours after they kept their word; but returned bloody and mangled by Xicotencal's order, for preſuming to deliver ſuch a meſſage; with an anſwer that Xicotencal would meet the Chriſtians as ſoon as the ſun aroſe, when he did not doubt but that he ſhould carry them alive to the altars of his gods, and that to ſhew how little he feared him, he gave him notice of his reſolution, that he might have time to prepare himſelf.

Cortes, though picqued at Xicotencal's inſolence, would not neglect his advice: but at daybreak drew his troops into the field, leaving ſuch a force in the town, as he thought neceſſary for its defence, and having advanced about half a league, took poſſeſſion of a ſpot where he could receive the enemy to advantage. He there formed his men, ſecured his flanks with the artillery, and put himſelf at the head of the horſe, in order to bring ſuccour wherever it ſhould be wanted. In a ſhort time, the ſcouts returned with intelligence that the enemy were upon their march, and ſoon after they appeared, when their number amounted to above 50,000 men, conſiſting of the whole ſtrength of the republic and its allies. They diſplayed a large golden eagle, which was the enſign of Tlaſcala, and was never brought into the

field but upon the greateſt undertakings, and at firſt ſeemed to advance with equal expedition and intrepidity. On their coming within cannon ſhot, the artillery filled them with ſuch terror, that they halted for ſome time; but at length ruſhed forward in a throng till they were near enough to uſe their ſlings and arrows, when they were a ſecond time ſtopt by a diſcharge of the fire arms and croſs-bows. But at length perceiving the ſlaughter that was made among them by the Spaniards and Zempoallans, they burſt upon them like a torrent, and broke their ranks by mere dint of weight and multitude; they, however, formed again, by bearing down all that did not give way to their efforts. At this inſtant, a great diſturbance appeared among the enemy, whoſe troops appeared to and fro, and turned their arms againſt each other, till at length they retired in a tumultuous manner.

The cauſe of this diſturbance and retreat was afterwards found to be owing to the inſolence of Xicotencal in upbraiding one of the confederate Caciques with cowardice, for not advancing when the reſt were engaged. The Indian chief, who had 10,000 men under his command, returned an angry anſwer, which being followed by a challenge, the other Caciques eſpouſed their friend's quarrel, and immediately retired. Upon which, Xicotencal, finding himſelf abandoned by his allies, and having ſeen a great number of his men ſlain upon the ſpot, left the field.

It is ſaid that Cortes loſt only a ſingle ſoldier on this occaſion; however ſeveral of the men were very much diſcouraged at their being put into diſorder, and loudly declared that they would not ſacrifice their lives to Cortes's obſtinacy, but return by themſelves to Vera Cruz, and leave him alone to follow the dictates of his ambition. The

ſpirit of mutiny made it neceſſary for Cortes to aſſemble the ſoldiers, when he put them in mind that they had already vanquiſhed the Tlaſcalans, who would certainly ſue for peace, ſo that they ſhould proceed to Mexico, with the additional reputation of conquering ſo warlike a people: but their retreat would bring them into diſgrace, and endanger their total deſtruction. In ſhort, he exerted his eloquence with ſuch ſucceſs, that one of the mutineers cried aloud, "Fellow ſoldiers! "our general is in the right, we cannot now re- "tire without being inevitably loſt;" and this opinion was immediately aſſented to by the whole army.

Mean while the Tlaſcalans were ſo intimidated by the ill ſucceſs of the ſecond battle, that they cried aloud for peace with the ſtrangers, whom they deemed invincible. But the ſenate concluding they were magicians, reſolved to oppoſe enchantment to enchantment, and therefore conſulted their wizzards, who pretended to have diſcovered the cauſe of their defeat, aſſerting that the Spaniards were the offspring of the ſun, and derived a ſuperior power from the warmth of his beams; but that when he diſappeared, they were weak and diſpirited. Hence they propoſed that they ſhould be attacked by night, and utterly deſtroyed before they could be re-animated by the beams of their father. This abſurd piece of intelligence the ſenate communicated to Xicotencal, with orders to execute it, and he immediately began to prepare for taking his meaſures accordingly.

Mean while Cortes took particular care to preſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline: centinels were conſtantly poſted at a diſtance from the town, the guards were regularly mounted and relieved, and the ſoldiers reſted upon their arms. Theſe pre-

cautions were of the utmoſt conſequence: for on the night deſtined for the attack, the out-centinels diſcovered a body of the enemy marching towards the town with unuſua ſlowneſs and ſilence, when notice being given of their approach, the ſoldiers manned the works without noiſe or confuſion, and cheerfully waited to give them a warm reception.

Xicotencal had 10,000 men under his command, whom he ordered to attack the quarters on three ſides at once, which they did with equal ſpeed and reſolution; but they met with ſuch a powerful and unexpected reſiſtance, that many were ſlain, and the reſt were the more terrified from their being confident they ſhould find the Spaniards weak and unprepared. Xicotencal was now ſenſible of the deluſion of the ſorcerers; but animated by rage, he returned with double fury to the aſſault. His Indians aſſiſted each other to climb over the wall, and for a conſiderable time one party ſucceeded, as another was ſlain, until at length the general ſeeing it impracticable to carry his point, order the ſignal for ſounding a retreat. Cortes no ſooner perceived them retiring from the wall, than he ſent out part of his infantry, and all his horſe, furniſhed with breaſt-plates full of bells, to charge the Indians, who were ſo terrified at the unuſual noiſe, that they fled in confuſion, leaving a conſiderable number of dead, and ſome wounded, whom they were in too great a hurry to carry off. This victory was obtained by the loſs of one man, who was a Zempoallan.

The news of this diſappointment ſoon reached Tlaſcala w'en the inhabitants unanimouſly demanded peace, and juſtice againſt the magicians for having deceived them. The ſenate aſſembling, agreed to puniſh the impoſtors, two of whom were immediately ſacrificed to their gods, and to apply to the ſtrangers for forgiveneſs, now firmly

believing that they were the celeſtial people mentioned in the prophecy. Mean while a meſſenger was ſent to inform Xicotencal of the ſenate's reſolution; but that general being exaſperated againſt the Spaniards, from whom he longed to retrieve his honour, abſolutely refuſed to comply, and reſolved to make a ſecond aſſault by night; but in order to know the nature and ſtrength of their fortifications, he employed forty ſoldiers to enter the Spaniſh quarters among the neighbouring peaſants, who reſorted thither to exchange proviſions for baubles. Theſe ſpies had ſpent a great part of the morning among the Spaniards unſuſpected, until a Zempoallan who had obſerved one of them narrowly examining the fortifications, communicated his ſuſpicion to Cortes, who inſtantly ordered him to be put to the torture, when he made a full confeſſion, in conſequence of which his comrades were apprehended, and the whole ſcheme diſcovered. The general then cauſed 15 of the moſt obſtinate of theſe ſpies to be puniſhed, ſome by loſing a hand, and others their thumbs, and then diſmiſſed them to tell Xicotencal that he was prepared for his coming, and had ſent his ſpies alive that they might acquaint him with the ſituation of his works.

At this bloody ſpectacle the Indian army was ſtruck with horror and aſtoniſhment, and their meſſage made a deep impreſſion on the general's mind. He now began to think that the Spaniards could not have diſcovered his deſign without a ſupernatural information: but while he was reflecting on this ſubject, he was accoſted by ſeveral perſons, ſent by the ſenate to diveſt him of his command.

The Spaniards expected an attack all that night and the next day; but on the ſucceeding morning the advanced centinels perceived four perſons of

rank adorned with white feathers in token of peace, and followed by thirty Indians loaded with proviſions. As they approached, they frequently halted, as if afraid to advance, and then bowing their bodies, touched the earth with their hands, and applied them to their lips, as a teſtimony of humility and veneration. Marina appearing upon the wall, aſked for what purpoſe they were coming, and they anſwering that they came from the ſenate and republic of Tlaſcala, to treat of peace, they were allowed to enter, and being introduced to Cortes, apologized for what was paſt, ſued for peace, and earneſtly intreated him to march to their city, where the Spaniards ſhould be ſerved and reſpected as the children of the ſun, and the brothers of the gods. Cortes however treated them with an affected ſeverity, and told them, that conſidering the methods they had taken to incur his diſpleaſure, they ought to look upon their admiſſion to his preſence as a mark of his condeſcenſion: that however peace was agreeable to his inclinations, and he would endeavour to appeaſe the anger of his captains.

CHAPTER VII.

Cortes receives an embaſſy from Montezuma; he makes his entrance into Tlaſcala; after which Diego de Ordaz viſits the volcano of Popocatepec. Cortes at length receives an embaſſy from Mexico, and marches to Cholula, where a ſcheme is laid for his deſtruction, which is diſcovered by the addreſs of Marina. He leaves Cholula; baffles the treacherous deſigns of the Mexicans; is viſited by the Cacique of Tezeaco, and arrives at that city, whence he marches to Itztapalapa.

AS Montezuma had intelligence of every thing that paſſed, he was greatly alarmed at Cortes's ſucceſs againſt the Tlaſcalans, apprehending that ſhould they unite their forces, they might be able to overturn his whole empire. Yet inſtead of aſſembling an army in his own defence, he ſent another preſent to Cortes, by ambaſſadors, who were ordered to divert him from his intended journey, to watch over his actions, and if poſſible to prevent a reconciliation between him and the Tlaſcalans. Five Mexicans of the firſt rank, who were charged with this embaſſy, arrived in the Spaniſh quarters, ſoon after the miniſters of the republic had departed, and were favourably received by Cortes, who accepted of the preſent; but would not diſpatch them immediately, as he was deſirous of having them ſee the Tlaſcalans humbled: and indeed they had no inclination to depart, until they had accompliſhed the real deſign of their embaſſy.

In the mean time the republic cauſed the neighbouring villages to furniſh the Spaniſh army with proviſions gratis, and in two days Cortes was viſited by Xicotencal at the head of 50 noblemen of

his party, who attended him with the enſigns of peace. He was well made, above the middle ſtature, and had a countenance that commanded reſpect. He wore a white mantle adorned with jewels, and behaved before Cortes with the free air of a ſoldier. He began his ſpeech by frankly owning that he was the cauſe of the war, from his believing that the Spaniards were friends to Montezuma, whom he hated, but was now come to put himſelf into the hands of his conqueror, hopeing by this ſubmiſſion to obtain pardon for his country, and the return of peace; he alſo intreated him to enter the city, where quarters ſhould be provided for his men, and deſired that the inhabitants might be well uſed, and their gods and wives protected from violence. Cortes complained, in the hearing of the Mexican ambaſſadors, with ſome vehemence, of the unjuſt war they had carried on, granted the peace, and promiſed that no violence ſhould be committed by the ſoldiers. At Xicotencal's departure he gave him his hand, and told him he would return the viſit after he had diſpatched Montezuma's ambaſſadors.

The Mexicans made a jeſt of the peace, and pretended that the Tlaſcalans only ſought to lull him into ſecurity, in order with the greater eaſe to deſtroy him and his ſoldiers. But finding that he was fixed in his reſolution to grant them a peace, they deſired him to delay his march to Tlaſcala for ſix days, promiſing to ſend two of their number to Mexico, to inform their prince of that tranſaction; and as Cortes did not think proper to break with Montezuma, he conſented to this requeſt.

Within the appointed time the ambaſſadors returned, accompanied by ſix perſons of high rank, with a ſplendid retinue, bearing another preſent of greater value than the former, declaring that

Montezuma desired to be the friend and confederate of the great sovereign of the Spaniards, and would pay him an annual tribute, provided they would enter into no league with the Tlascalans, and lay aside their design of coming to Mexico.

But Cortes being resolved that these ambassadors should be witness of the peace with Tlascala, postponed his answer, resolving to detain them as long as he could, to give Montezuma the less time to prepare for hostilities. These embassies so greatly alarmed the Tlascalans, that the government came to a resolution to visit Cortes in the form of a senate, in order to convince him of their sincerity, and break off his negociation with the Mexicans. They accordingly arrived in solemn procession, carried upon the shoulders of inferior officers, and followed by numerous attendants. Cortes received them with his usual state and civility, and after they were seated, was addressed by the father of Xicotencal, a blind old man of a venerable aspect, who told him, that the senate of Tlascala were come to sue for peace on his own terms; to dissuade him from entering into a league with the tyrant Montezuma, and intreated him to honour their city with his presence. Cortes assured him that he would march to Tlascala, whenever the people of the neighbouring villages were ready to conduct his baggage and artillery. The next morning 500 tamines, or carriers, appeared at his quarters, and having made the proper dispositions, he immediately began his march. The fields were filled with vast multitudes of people, who came to behold the fight, and made such cries and gesticulations, as were mistaken by the Spaniards for threats of war, until they were informed by Marina, that in this manner the Indians expressed their joy at their festivals.

The Spaniards were received by the senators and nobles, at a considerable distance from the

town, who having paid their reſpects to the general, turned about and marched before. The city at their entrance reſounded with ſhouts, acclamations, and the diſagreeable noiſe of their horns, pipes, and drums. The crowd was ſo great, that the magiſtrates could ſcarcely keep the paſſage free. Some of the women threw flowers on the Spaniards, while others who were more bold, put noſegays in their hands. The prieſts, clothed in long garments, came with their copper cenſers, offering incenſe to them as they paſſed, and all the ſpectators ſeemed to be filled with awe, admiration, and joy. Quarters were provided for them in a large edifice, which had three or four ſpacious courts, and a great number of rooms; in the building the whole army was conveniently lodged, and there Montezuma's ambaſſadors were ſecure under the protection of the Spaniards.

As Cortes knew the warlike character of the people among whom he lived, he obſerved the utmoſt circumſpection; a guard was regularly kept in his quarters; he never appeared abroad without a number of attendants well armed, and the ſoldiers never appeared but in companies, with their fire-arms on their ſhoulders. Theſe marks of diſtruſt greatly mortified the Tlaſcalans, and Magiſcatzin being ſent by the ſenate to complain of it to Cortes, obſerved that his ſoldiers by appearing in the city with lightening on their ſhoulders, gave more offence by ſuch a mark of ſuſpicion, than they would do by committing real acts of violence. Cortes aſſured him, that he was well convinced of the ſincerity and good-will of the republic, and that his ſoldiers appearing in arms was one of the effects of that diſcipline which had rendered the Spaniards invincible. With this reply the ſenate were ſatisfied, and the Spaniards received daily proofs of the fidelity and friendſhip of their new allies. They were enter-

tained with plenty of proviſions, and preſents were poured in upon them from all quarters. Notwithſtanding which, Cortes's zeal made him reſolve to deſtroy all their idols; but it was ſoon moderated by the charity of father de Olmedo, who told him, that perſecution but ill agreed with the doctrines of the goſpel, and that their converſion required time and gentle uſage. However he prevailed with the Tlaſcalans to deſiſt from human ſacrifices, as being in the higheſt degree ſhocking to nature, and to ſet at liberty thoſe miſerable wretches who were fed in cages, in order to be the victims of their inhuman worſhip.

The peace being eſtabliſhed, and the ſenate of Tlaſcala having ſworn allegiance to the king of Spain, Cortes diſmiſſed the Mexican ambaſſadors, whom he deſired to inform Montezuma of what had paſſed in their preſence, of the ſolicitation and fidelity of the Tlaſcalans, over whom he had now ſuch influence that he hoped in time to bring them under the obedience of the Emperor of Mexico, and of his reſolution to continue his march, in order to confer with their prince on that, as well as on other important ſubjects.

While Cortes ſtill continued at Tlaſcala, receiving homage in the name of Charles V. from the different towns and confederates of the republic, the inhabitants where alarmed by a ſurprizing irruption of fire from the volcano of Popacatepec, an high mountain at eight leagues diſtance from the city, which filled the people with terror and conſternation; for they ridiculouſly imagined it to be a preſage of future misfortune, and ſuppoſed that the ſparks of fire were the ſouls of tyrants ſent abroad by the offended deities to chaſtiſe the earth.

While Magiſcatzin and ſome of the principal noblemen were rehearſing ſome of theſe idle fan-

cies to Cortes, Diego de Ordaz came to aſk leave to aſcend the mountain, in order to gratify his curioſity. The Indians, aſtoniſhed at his propoſal, endeavoured to diſſuade him from engaging in ſuch a dangerous enterprize, and obſerved, that the boldeſt men of their nation had never ventured beyond ſome hermitages of their gods, about the middle of the eminence, and that dreadful roarings and tremblings forbad approach to its ſummit. This account increaſed the eagerneſs of Diego de Ordaz, and Cortes granted his requeſt, in order to afford the Tlaſcalans a freſh proof of the ſuperior courage of the Spaniards.

Ordaz therefore ſet out on this expedition attended by two ſoldiers, and ſome of the principal Indians, who offered to attend him as far as the hermitages. He found the bottom of the mountain beautified on all ſides with green trees, which extended a conſiderable way up the aſcent. The earth then grew barren by degrees. The Indians ſtopped at the hermitage, to which they never expected to ſee the Spaniards return, and Diego de Ordaz, with his companions, proceeded climbing among the rocks, which were whitened by ſnow, and the aſhes diſcharged from the volcano, and at length reached a place at a ſmall diſtance from the ſummit, where they felt the earth move violently under them, and heard a dreadful roaring iſſue from the mouth of the volcano, which with redoubled noiſe, diſcharged a vaſt quantity of fire and ſmoke, that darted upwards to a great height. The Spaniards were inſtantly covered with a ſhower of hot aſhes, which obliged them to ſeek for ſhelter in the hollow of a rock, where they were almoſt ſtifled. Diego de Ordaz, however, perceiving that the earthquake was paſſed, encouraged the ſoldiers, by his example, to proſecute this diſcovery, until they came within ſight of

the mouth of the volcano, which was about a quarter of a league in circumference; they obſerved at the bottom a large quantity of inflammable matter, which boiled up like ſome ſhining metal infuſion. With this account they returned ſafe, to the aſtoniſhment of the Indians, whoſe eſteem for the Spaniards was increaſed by this adventure, which afterwards proved of ſignal ſervice; for Ordaz found a large quantity of ſulphur in the mountain, of which Cortes made gunpowder, when it was much wanted by the army.

Cortes having continued twenty days at Tlaſcala, during which he was entertained with all poſſible marks of reſpect, declared his reſolution of proceeding for Cholula, in which he was oppoſed by the Tlaſcalans, who endeavoured much to ſtrengthen ſome arguments that had been before uſed by the Zempoallans, by declaring that Cholula was a ſacred place, in which were 400 temples, and ſuch malevolent gods, that terrified the world with prodigies; that he ought not, therefore, to enter their territories, without an aſſurance of their being propitious. Juſt about this time new ambaſſadors arrived from Montezuma, bringing another preſent, and that prince's permiſſion for the Spaniards to proceed by the way of Cholula, where he had provided quarters for the reception of the army. The Tlaſcalans immediately concluded, that there was treachery in the caſe, and Magiſcatzin repeated his remonſtrances with ſuch marks of concern, that the general called a council in his preſence, in which it was agreed, that it was impoſſible to avoid the road propoſed by the Emperor of Mexico, without diſcovering a ſuſpicion of his ſincerity, that whether this ſuſpicion was well or ill founded, it would not be proper to diſcloſe it, and that it would be equally dangerous to leave enemies be-

hind him. Whence it was neceſſary for them to go to Cholula to diſcover Montezuma's intentions, and to obtain new reputation by chaſtiſing his ſubjects for their perfidy.

Indeed Montezuma being terrified at the victories of the Spaniards, and aſhamed of employing his armies againſt ſuch an handful of men, actually reſolved to deſtroy them by artifice, and had choſen Cholula for that purpoſe. Yet the inhabitants of that city were ſuch novices in diſſimulation, that they had neglected ſending deputies to Cortes, who therefore complained to the Mexican ambaſſadors of this mark of diſreſpect, and even when they were informed of his diſpleaſure, they ſent four perſons with ſuch mean equipage, that he refuſed to admit them into his preſence. Cortes on the day of his departure, drew up the Spaniards and Zempoallan auxiliaries, and was much ſurprized to find the whole force of the republic and her allies ready in the field, diſtinguiſhed by the colour of their feathers, and their different enſigns; but Cortes inſiſted upon taking only 6000 of the republic's troops, with which he began his march to Cholula. That city was about five leagues from Tlaſcala, and the ſame evening he halted near a river, within three miles of the place, which he was unwilling to enter by night. He was there viſited by deputies from the city of diſtinguiſhed rank, who brought a preſent of proviſions, and excuſing themſelves for not waiting upon him at Tlaſcala, on account of his being there in the midſt of their enemies, welcomed him and his people to their city. Though Cortes was far from being convinced of their ſincerity, he admitted of their excuſe, and the next morning proceeded to towards Cholula, where he was met by the Caciques and prieſts, attended by a multitude of unarmed people, who had the ap-

pearance of being filled with reverence and joy; but they no ſooner perceived the body of Tlaſcalans that marched in the rear, than a diſagreeable murmur was heard among the chiefs, upon which Marina was ordered to aſk the reaſon of it, when ſhe returned with an anſwer, that the Tlaſcalans being their enemies, could not enter the city in arms, wherefore they earneſtly entreated, that he would order them to return. Cortes was diſconcerted at this demand; he however deſired the Tlaſcalans to lie without the city, to which they agreed, and they took up their lodgings in a place from which they might eaſily come to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, in caſe of neceſſity. In ſhort, Cortes entered Cholula amidſt the acclamations of the people, and with all the marks of reſpect ſhewn to the Spaniards at their entrance into Tlaſcala.

The city of Cholula ſtood in an open and delightful plain, and it was much frequented by ſtrangers, on account of its being a ſanctuary of the gods, and its carrying on a conſiderable trade. The ſtreets were ſpacious, the buildings larger and more beautiful than thoſe of Tlaſcala, and a greater number of the ſumptuous towers, which adorned the city, ſhewed the multitude of their temples. It contained 20,000 inhabitants within the walls, and an equal number in the ſuburbs; but as they chiefly conſiſted of mechanics and merchants, they were eſteemed more cunning than warlike. The quarters appointed for the Spaniards, were three or four large edifices contiguous to each other, and ſufficient to contain both the Spaniards and Zempoallans. The Tlaſcalans choſe a place at a ſmall diſtance from the town, which they ſecured with ſome works, formed guards, and placed centinels, in imitation of

their European friends, from whom they had obtained ſome knowledge in the art of war.

In the firſt three or four days, there was the greateſt appearance of tranquility and friendſhip, but after that time proviſions grew gradually ſcarce, and an entire ſtop was put to the entertainments of the Caciques. The prieſts and Montezuma's ambaſſadors held private conferences, and the people began to look upon the Spaniards with an air of ſcorn and diſtaſte. This naturally awakened the jealouſy of the latter, and Cortes was endeavouring to penetrate into the intentions of the Cholulans, when the whole deſign was accidentally diſcovered. Marina had contracted a friendſhip with an old Indian woman of diſtinction, who coming one morning to her apartment, begged, with great earneſtneſs, that ſhe would immediately forſake thoſe abominable ſtrangers and live with her. Marina perceiving that there was ſomething extraordinary in this requeſt, bemoaned her captivity, and acted her part ſo well, that the Cholulan, believing her ſincere, told her that there was no time to be loſt, for the Spaniards were devoted to deſtruction; that Montezuma had ſent 20,000 Mexicans to ſecure the ſucceſs of the deſign, of which 6000 choſen men had already entered the city in ſmall parties: that a great quantity of arms was diſtributed among the inhabitants, who had carried ſtones up to the tops of their houſes, and cut deep trenches acroſs the ſtreets, in which were fixed ſharp ſtakes, which were ſlightly covered with earth, for the deſtruction of the horſes: that the Emperor of Mexico had reſolved to exterminate all the Chriſtians; but had given orders that ſome of them ſhould be taken alive, to ſatisfy his curioſity, and zeal for religion, and that he had made the city of Cholula a preſent of a gold drum, to excite their courage.

Marina, on obtaining this intelligence, pretended that ſhe was ready to attend her deliverer, and would only go and fetch her jewels; but immediately haſted to Cortes. and told him the whole affair, upon which the Indian woman was ſeized, and by threats, engaged to make a particular confeſſion of the whole. He was at the ſame time informed by ſome Tlaſcalan ſoldiers, who entered the city in the diſguiſe of peaſants, that they had ſeen the Cholulans carrying their women and effects to the neighbouring villages; and, in ſhort, obtained intelligence from ſeveral other perſons, which put the affair beyond all doubt.

Cortes now thought it neceſſary to juſtify his conduct by the teſtimony of ſome unexceptionable witneſſes among the citizens themſelves, and therefore ſent for three of the chief prieſts, and diſcourſing with them ſeparately, complained of their treachery, and mentioned all the particulars of their deſign. When believing that he was endowed with the power of penetrating into the thoughts of men, they acknowledged the truth, and charged Montezuma with being the author of the whole contrivance. Theſe prieſts were then ſecretly impriſoned, and Montezuma's ambaſſadors excluded from all communication with the people. Cortes ordering his captains to aſſemble, laid before them the whole conſpiracy, and propoſed a ſcheme for puniſhing the Cholulans, to which they unanimouſly conſented.

Agreeably to this plan, he let the magiſtrates know that he ſhould depart the next day; demanded proviſions for his march, Indians to carry his burdens, and with a view of diſuniting their forces, required a reinforcement of 2000 armed men to join the Tlaſcalans and Zempoallans; which they readily granted, in order to introduce concealed enemies among his troops, whom they

ſhould uſe as occaſion ſhould offer. The Tlaſcalans were then ordered to draw near the city at day-break, and to enter the town and join the Spaniards and Zempoallans at the firſt diſcharge of the fire-arms. At night having firſt ſecured the quarters with guards and centinels, he ſent for Montezuma's ambaſſadors, and told them he had diſcovered a conſpiracy formed againſt him by the Caciques and citizens of Cholulan, whom he was reſolved to puniſh, not only for their perfidious breach of hoſpitality, but for pretending that they had received orders and aſſiſtance from Montezuma, and that he was not ſo much provoked at their treacherous intentions towards him, as at their preſuming to lay their crime to the charge of the Emperor. The ambaſſadors appeared overwhelmed with terror and confuſion, pretended to be ignorant of the conſpiracy, and endeavoured to ſave Montezuma's credit, while Cortes rejoiced at this opportunity of defeating the arts of the Mexican prince, and at the ſame time raiſing the reputation of his arms.

Early in the morning came the carriers with ſome proviſions, though in a ſmall quantity, and afterwards a greater number of armed Indians than Cortes had demanded. Theſe he ſecured in ſeveral parts of his quarters, on pretence of forming his battalions in the uſual manner. Then putting his men in order, and mounting his horſe, he ſent for the Caciques, and when they appeared, told them in a loud and angry voice, That as he had diſcovered their conſpiracy, he would ſo ſeverely puniſh them, that they ſhould repent of their treachery. Scarce had he began to ſpeak, when they haſted away with great expedition to join their own forces, inſulting him with threats and abuſe, which they uttered as they fled. He then commanded his infantry to fall upon the

ſoldiers, whom he had kept divided in the ſquares of his quarters, all of whom were ſoon deſtroyed, except a few who threw themſelves from the walls and eſcaped. This bloody ſlaughter being ended, he gave the ſignal for the Tlaſcalans to advance, and then marched ſlowly into the principal ſtreet, having firſt left a guard in the quarters, and detached ſome Zempoallans to diſcover the trenches, in order that the horſe might eſcape the danger. In the mean time, the Cholulans called in the Mexicans, and entering a large ſquare, in which were three temples, poſted a number of men in the porches, and tops of the towers, while the reſt were divided into ſeveral bodies to engage the Spaniards. Juſt as Cortes's troops entered this ſquare, and the charge was given, the Tlaſcalans cloſed with the enemy's rear, and threw them into ſuch diſorder, that they neither knew how to fly, nor how to defend themſelves, ſo that they fell in heaps without reſiſtance. The terraces and ſteps of the temples were ſo crouded with armed men, that they could ſcarce turn themſelves, or find room to fix their arrows; when Cortes marching to the largeſt temple, commanded his interpreters to proclaim a pardon and free paſſage to all who would come down and ſurrender themſelves; but this proffer, though twice repeated, being rejected by all but one Indian, he cauſed the artillery to play upon the temples, ſo that great numbers periſhed in their ruins. And all the other temples being deſtroyed in the ſame manner, there were above ſix thouſand of the natives and Mexicans ſlain. The Tlaſcalans having pillaged the town, Cortes aſſigned them lodgings without the city, and then retired to his own quarters, where ordering the principal perſons of the town, who had been taken priſoners, together with the prieſts and Indian woman, whom he had kept confined, to

be brought before him, he expreſſed his concern at their having obliged him to inflict ſo ſevere a puniſhment upon the city, publiſhed a general pardon, and deſired the Caciques to call back the fugitives. The ambaſſadors congratulated Cortes on his ſucceſs, and the citizens being encouraged by his offers of peace, returned to their houſes, and opened their ſhops, ſo that the tumult immediately ſubſided.

The day after the action, Xicotencal arrived at the head of 20,000 men, which the Tlaſcalans had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards; but Cortes having returned them his acknowledgments, informed their general, that he would ſoon begin his march to Mexico, and that it would be improper to exaſperate Montezuma by bringing ſuch a number of his declared enemies into his dominions, when Xicotencal acknowledging the juſtice of this obſervation, promiſed to retire, and keep the troops in readineſs in caſe he ſhould have occaſion for them. But before their departure, Cortes brought about a peace between the republic and Cholula, by which means he opened a way for the Tlaſcalans to ſupply him with ſuccours, and removed all impediments to his retreat.

Some of the Zempoallans now deſiring leave to return home, Cortes granted their requeſt, and took this opportunity of ſending ſome preſents to their Cacique, and at the ſame time ſent Juan de Eſcalante a ſhort account of his ſucceſs, deſiring him to ſtrengthen Vera Cruz with additional fortifications, in order to ſecure it from the reſtleſs ambition of Velaſquez.

About this time new ambaſſadors arrived from the emperor of Mexico, who had been informed of all that had paſſed at Cholula, and being willing to eſcape the ſuſpicion of having any concern in the affair, not only thanked Cortes for chaſtiſing

thoſe traitors; but ſent him a preſent of great value, by which means he thought to lead the Spaniards into a blind ſecurity, that they might the eaſier fall into a ſnare he had prepared for them.

Cortes having ſtaid fourteen days at Cholula, proceeded towards Mexico, and the firſt night lodged in a village, to which the chiefs of the neighbouring towns repaired with preſents. From them Cortes heard the ſame complaints of Montezuma as in the more diſtant provinces, and was informed that the Mexicans had placed a conſiderable ambuſcade on the other ſide of a mountain he was to paſs the next day; that they had ſtopped up the high road, and opened another which ended in precipices, and that the Spaniſh army when perplexed with difficulties, was to be ſuddenly charged, where their horſes could be of no ſervice, and the foot have no room to form. Cortes, though highly incenſed at this piece of treachery, ſtifled his reſentment, and the next day proſecuted his march over a very craggy mountain, adjoining to the volcano, proceeding with great caution. When he had reached the top, he perceived the two roads which had been deſcribed to him, and turning with great compoſure to the Mexican ambaſſadors, he aſked the reaſon why one of them was blocked up with trees and ſtones, and the other but newly made. To which they anſwered, that the new road was levelled for his convenience, and the other ſtopped up, on account of its being more ſteep and difficult. Cortes replied, "You "are but little acquainted with the genius of our "nation, for we will march in this road for no "other reaſon than its difficulty." He then deſired his Indian friends to march before, and remove the obſtacles to his paſſage, which to the amazement of the ambaſſadors was ſoon done, for they never dreamt that he ſuſpected their deſign.

When the Indians in ambuſcade obſerved that the Spaniards marched in the royal road, they concluded that they were diſcovered, and began to retire in great diſorder; while Cortes deſcended, without oppoſition into the plain, and paſſed the night in ſome houſes built for the reception of the Mexican merchants who reſorted to the fairs of Cholula.

In the mean time Montezuma being diſpirited by theſe diſappointments, grew daily more and more devout; reſorted to the temples; increaſed the number of human ſacrifices, and at length aſſembling his magicians, ordered them upon pain of death to ſet out to meet the Spaniards, and either to ſtupify or overcome them by the force of their enchantments. In compliance with this command, a conſiderable number of necromancers ſet out, but having performed their incantations without ſucceſs, returned to Montezuma, and told him, that the god Telcatlepuca, from whom famine and plagues proceeded, had appeared to them in a garment girt with a rob of wicker, declaring that Montezuma's ruin was decreed, and the diſſolution of the empire at hand. The ſuperſtitious king was ſtruck dumb at this report, till at length recovering his ſpeech, he cried, "If our gods for-"ſake us, let the ſtrangers come. It would be "diſhonourable to turn our backs upon misfor-"tunes," and then, after a ſhort pauſe, added, "I lament the old men, women and children, "who cannot defend themſelves." From this moment he began to prepare for the entertainment of the Spaniards. All the diſcourſe of Mexico turned upon their aſtoniſhing actions, and the prodigies by which their coming had been foretold, and theſe topics of converſation produced a preposſeſſion that was abſolutely neceſſary to enable ſuch a handful of men to penetrate to the very court of ſuch a powerful prince.

Cortes having paſſed the mountain, advanced the following day to a village in the juriſdiction of Chalco, where he was viſited by the principal Cacique of the province, and others in that neighbourhood, who brought him proviſions and other preſents, and when unobſerved by the Mexican ambaſſadors, complained of Montezuma's tyranny, the weight of their taxes, and, his taking their women to gratify his luſt, and that of his miniſters, by which means the wife found no protection in the bed of her huſband, nor the daughter in the arms of her mother.

The next day Cortes purſued his march four leagues through a delightful country, adorned with groves and beautiful gardens, until he arrived at a village built on a creek of the great lake, where he choſe to take up his lodgings. Thither the Mexicans reſorted with their arms and military ornaments, in ſuch numbers as raiſed Cortes's ſuſpicions; when, in order to keep them at a proper diſtance, he cauſed ſome fire-arms and pieces of artillery to be fired in the air, at which they were ſo terrified, that they haſtily retired. However he was viſited in the morning by one of Montezuma's nephews, who was lord of Tezeuco; he was a young man, had an agreeable perſon, and was carried on the ſhoulders of ſome of his ſervants, in a chair adorned with a variety of feathers curiouſly diverſified. He no ſooner alighted than his ſervants went before to ſweep the ground, and keep back the people on each ſide. Cortes going to the door of his apartment received him with a low bow, which the prince returned by touching the earth, and then his lips with his right hand, which ſalutation being paſſed, he ſat down, and with an eaſy air, welcomed him and all his captains; ſpoke of Montezuma's amicable diſpoſition, and mentioned the difficulties that oppoſed his

going to Mexico, on account of that year's barrenneſs, by which the people were much diſtreſſed, ſo that ſtrangers could be but ill accommodated where the natives wanted neceſſaries. To which Cortes replied, that the king his maſter having ſome important reaſons for offering his friendſhip to Montezuma, he, his ſervant, with great reſpect accepted the liberty he had received to deliver his embaſſy, without being in pain for the preſent ſcarcity, ſince the Spaniards required but little nouriſhment, and even deſpiſed the inconveniences which afflicted men of an inferior ſpecies. The emperor's nephew then received a preſent of ſome falſe jewels made of glaſs, at which he ſhewed great ſigns of joy, and having accompanied the army as far as Tezeuco, the capital of his dominions, proceeded to Mexico, to give an account of his embaſſy.

The city of Tezeuco was one of the largeſt in the empire, and in grandeur was but little inferior to Mexico itſelf. It extended along the banks of a ſpacious lake, at the beginning of the Mexican cauſeway. The houſes were very beautiful and the ſtreets regular, and what was ſtill more extraordinary, freſh water was brought in pipes to every houſe. Cortes purſued his march over the cauſeway which was twenty feet broad, and compoſed of ſtone, and in the midway came to another town of about 2000 houſes, called Quitlavaca, which was founded in the water, whence it afterwards obtained the name of Venezuela, or little Venice. Here the Cacique attended by a ſplendid retinue, came out to meet him, and preſſed him to honour his city with ſpending the night there. To which he thought proper to conſent; for he began to ſuſpect that the Mexicans might break the cauſeway, or obſtruct his march by taking away the bridges. From this place the Spaniards had a view of the greateſt part of the lake, which was beautified

with towns, adorned with towers and pinnacles, gardens and cauſeways that ſeemed to float upon the water. The battlements of the houſes were filled with people; multitudes of Indians approached in their canoes to behold the Spaniards, and the whole formed a proſpect that was at once new and extremely noble. In this city, they were entertained with a politeneſs that ſhewed its neighbourhood to the court.

About break of day the next morning, the Spaniards formed themſelves upon the cauſeway, which was there wide enough to allow eight horſes to march in front, and the whole army, which conſiſted of 450 Spaniards, and 6000 Indian allies, proceeded on their march to Iztapalapa, a city built in a moſt delightful and commodious ſituation, part of it upon the lake, and the other part on the ſhore. It conſiſted of 10,000 houſes, of two or three ſtories high. The lord of this city, accompanied by the princes of two other towns bordering upon the lake, came out to meet Cortes with three ſeparate preſents of gold, fowls, fruit, and other proviſions. The Spaniards entered the city amidſt the loud acclamations of the people; lodgings were prepared for them in the prince's own palace, which was a large and well-built edifice, with many apartments both above and below ſtairs, among which were ſeveral chambers with flat roofs of cedar, furniſhed with cotton hangings, curiouſly painted: Here were many conduits of excellent water, conveyed by aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, and a conſiderable number of large and well cultivated gardens, particularly one that was far more beautiful and ſpacious than the reſt, and belonged to the Cacique It conſiſted of ſquares adorned with a variety of flowers, a parterre with diviſions made of canes interwoven with odoriferous ſhrubs, and fruit-trees

diſpoſed into walks. In the middle was a quadrangular pond of freſh water, encompaſſed with ſteps to the bottom, each ſide extended 400 paces. Here were kept the moſt delicate fiſh; and it at the ſame time ſerved as a retreat to a great number of herons, wild-ducks, and other ſorts of water fowl.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cortes enters Mexico, where he is met by Montezuma, who comes in great ſtate to welcome him to the city; afterwards confers with him at his quarters, and grants him an audience in the royal palace. A deſcription of the city of Mexico, with an account of the grandeur, wealth, and power of the emperor, and the religion and policy of the Mexican government.

EARLY in the morning the Spaniards left the city of Iztapalapa, and beginning their march in their accuſtomed order, ſoon diſcovered the great city of Mexico, diſtinguiſhed above the reſt by the height of its towers, and the grandeur and multiplicity of its buildings. On their having marched about half way, they were met by a body of about 4000 nobles and officers of the city, who came out to meet them, and having paid their obedience, turned about and advanced before the troops. At a ſmall diſtance from Mexico, the cauſeway was croſſed by a bulwark of ſtone, where the entrance into the city was ſecured by gates, a draw-bridge, and a ſecond fortification. The nobles had no ſooner paſſed on the other ſide of the bridge, than they fell back on each ſide, and

made a lane for the army to paſs through, when there appeared a ſpacious ſtreet, the houſes of which were uniformly built, and the windows and battlements filled with ſpectators; though no body was ſeen paſſing through the ſtreets; for Montezuma had given orders for their being cleared, as he had himſelf reſolved to ſhew Cortes an extraordinary mark of favour by his coming out to meet him.

Scarce had the Spaniards entered the city when they perceived the firſt troop of the royal retinue, which conſiſted of 200 noblemen of Montezuma's houſehold uniformly adorned with feathers, who approached in two files with their eyes fixed on the ground, obſerving the ſtricteſt ſilence; but on their approaching the Spaniards, fell back on each ſide. Then appeared at a conſiderable diſtance a larger company more richly adorned, in the midſt of whom was Montezuma in a chariot of burniſhed gold, ſurrounded with beautiful feathers, and carried on the ſhoulders of his favourites, while four perſons of diſtinction held over his head a canopy of green feathers interwoven with ornaments of ſilver. He was preceded by three officers with golden rods, which they from time to time lifted up as a ſignal of the emperor's approach, that all might proſtrate themſelves, and hide their heads. Cortes diſmounted at a ſmall diſtance, and Montezuma at the ſame time alighted from his chariot, when ſome of the Indians advanced before and ſpread carpets, that his feet might not touch the ground. He came forwards with a ſlow and ſolemn pace, leaning upon his couſins, the princes of Tezeuco and Iztapalapa. He was about forty years of age, of a middle ſtature, and had a good preſence; but his conſtitution ſeemed rather delicate than robuſt. He had an aquiline noſe, and a fairer complexion than the reſt of the Mexicans: his eyes were lively,

and his hair reached a little below his ears; his look, though thoughtful, was majeſtic: he wore on his head, a kind of golden mitre; a mantle of fine cotton, covered with gold, pearls, and precious ſtones, was careleſsly tied on his ſhoulders; and his ſhoes, which reſembled the ſandals of the Romans, conſiſting of a golden ſole bound to the foot, with ſtudded ſtraps that came round a part of his leg.

Cortes, on ſeeing him, alighted, haſtily advanced, and made a profound reverence, which Montezuma returned in the manner of his country, by touching the ground with his hand, and kiſſing it, at which the Mexicans were greatly aſtoniſhed, ſince they had never ſeen any of their emperors give ſuch an inſtance of condeſcenſion. Cortes wore about his neck a chain of glaſs, curiouſly ſet in imitation of diamonds and emeralds, which he had reſerved as a preſent for his firſt audience, and coming up cloſe to the emperor, he threw it about his neck. The princes who ſupported him ſhewed ſome emotion, and interpoſed to prevent Cortes, ſignifying that it was unlawful to approach ſo near: but they were reprimanded by Montezuma, who bowed his head, to ſhew that he accepted the preſent, and which he returned by putting upon Cortes's neck, a rich ornament of crimſon ſhells, joined together with great art, at each of which hung four crabs of gold of excellent workmanſhip. Cortes then made a ſhort ſpeech, which being anſwered by Montezuma, he ordered one of his ſupporters to conduct the ſtranger to his lodging, and then leaning on the other, went to his chair, and returned to his palace.

In this manner Cortes entered the city of Mexico, on the eighth of November, 1519. One of the royal palaces was provided for the Spaniards.

It was built by Montezuma's father, and was large enough to lodge the whole army. It had very thick ſtone walls, was flanked with towers, and many of the chambers were furniſhed with cotton hangings, and feather-work of various colours. The chairs were formed out of ſolid pieces of wood, and the bedſteads had curtains like pavilions, the beds themſelves were of palm-mats, and the bolſters of the ſame rolled up. Cortes entered theſe lodgings a little after twelve at noon, and had no ſooner diſtributed his guards, and placed his artillery before the gate, than he found a ſplendid banquet prepared for himſelf and his officers, and great plenty of proviſions dreſſed for the ſolders, with many Mexicans, who waited upon them in the moſt profound ſilence.

In the evening Cortes was viſited by Montezuma, who came in the ſame ſtate as before; Cortes went to the principal ſquare to meet him, and after making a profound reverence, entered the apartment with Montezuma, who took his ſeat with an air of majeſty, and ordered a chair to be brought for Cortes: when the company retiring to ſome diſtance, he is ſaid to have addreſſed himſelf to him to the following purpoſe: "Before you mention the particulars of your embaſſy, il-
"luſtrious captain, let you and I lay aſide the
"prejudices we have each imbibed of the other,
"from the miſrepreſentation of common report.
"You have been in ſome places told that I am a
"god, that my power is invincible, and my
"riches immenſe; that my palaces are covered
"with gold, and that the earth groans beneath
"the weight of my treaſure. Upon other occa-
"ſions you have heard that I am a tyrant, inſo-
"lent, cruel, and unjuſt; but you have been im-
"poſed upon by both repreſentations: this arm
"of fleſh and blood ſhews that I am mortal, and

" theſe walls and roofs demonſtrate that my pa-
" laces are not covered with gold, and from theſe
" inſtances you may conclude that the account of
" my vices is alſo exaggerated by the malice of
" my enemies. We have alſo received various ac-
" counts of you; ſome have affirmed that you are
" gods who graſp the thunder, command the
" elements, and compel the beaſts of the foreſt
" to obey your directions. You have been re-
" preſented by others as proud, vindictive, volup-
" tuous, and tranſported with an inſatiable thirſt
" after the gold which our country produces.
" Yet I now ſee that I have been alike deceived
" by theſe different accounts. You are made like
" other men, and only diſtinguiſhed from us by
" the peculiarities of your own country. The
" beaſts that ſo readily obey you, are large deer
" trained up to diſcipline. Your arms that pro-
" duce lightening, I conceive to be barrels of
" metal, and their effect, like that of our ſarba-
" cans, proceeds from air compreſſed, and ſtriv-
" ing for vent; and as to the fire, noiſe, and
" ſmoke, they ſurely are owing to enchantment.
" In a word, we believe, that the great prince to
" whom you pay obedience, is a deſcendant of
" Quezalcoal, Lord of the ſeven caves of the Na-
" vatlaques, and lawful ſovereign of the ſeven na-
" tions that gave riſe to the Mexican empire.
" For from the tradition of many ages, we know
" that he left theſe countries to conquer new re-
" gions in the eaſt, with a promiſe that in proceſs
" of time, his deſcendants ſhould return and new
" model our laws, and reform our government.
" We have therefore already determined, that
" every thing ſhall be done for the honour of a
" prince who is the offſpring of ſuch an illuſtrious
" progenitor."

To this ſpeech Cortes replied to the following purport: "We have, it is true, Sir, heard very "oppoſite accounts of your character, which ſome "have extolled, and others have vilified; but as "Spaniards have penetration enough to diſtin-"guiſh the colours of diſcourſe, we have given no "credit either to your flatterers or your rebels, "but come into your preſence with full aſſurance "of your being a great and equitable prince. "You juſtly conclude that we are mortal, though "more intelligent and valiant than your vaſſals. "Our beaſts are not deer, but are of a more ge-"nerous ſpecies, inclined to war, and aſpiring, "with a kind of ambition, to the glory of their "maſters: and as to our arms, they are made by "human induſtry, without the aſſiſtance of magic, "an abominable art which we deteſt. I am come "as ambaſſador to your majeſty from the moſt "powerful monarch on whom the ſun ſheds his "beams at his firſt riſing. He deſires to be your "friend and confederate, and though according "to your traditions he might pretend to be more "abſolute in theſe dominions, he makes no other "uſe of his authority, but to promote your ad-"vantage, and to convince you that you have de-"parted from the worſhip of the true God, to pay "your adoration to inſenſible pieces of wood, "carved out by your own hands, to whom you "inhumanly ſacrifice your fellow-creatures." He made uſe of other arguments to induce Monte-zuma to renounce his religion, and having ended his ſpeech, the emperor aroſe, ſaying, "I accept "the friendſhip and confederacy of the great de-"ſcendant of Quezalcoal, but all Gods are good, "and yours may be ſo without offence to mine. "In the mean time, repoſe yourſelves, you are "in your own own houſe, where you ſhall be "punctually ſerved with all poſſible reſpect."

He then gave orders for ſome Mexicans without to bring in a preſent that he deſigned for Cortes, and which was a very valuable one, conſiſting of pieces of gold, cotton robes, and other curioſities, and at the ſame time, with an air of cheerful generoſity, he diſtributed ſome jewels among the Spaniards who were preſent.

The next day Cortes demanded an audience, which was immediately granted, he therefore dreſſed himſelf in his gayeſt apparel, without quitting his arms, and ſet out for the palace with Juan Velaſquez de Leon, Diego de Ordaz, Pedro de Alverado, and ſix or ſeven favourite ſoldiers.

The ſtreets where crouded with vaſt multitudes of people, who made way to let them paſs, often pronouncing amidſt their acclamations the word Teule or God, with which the Spaniards were pleaſed, from the opinion that this extraordinary veneration would contribute to their ſucceſs. At ſome diſtance appeared Montezuma's palace, a prodigious pile of building, which had thirty gates that opened to as many different ſtreets. The principal front took up one ſide of a ſpacious ſquare, and was of red, white and black jaſper, beautifully poliſhed; and in a large ſhield over the gate was repreſented Montezuma's arms, a griffin with its wings extended, holding a tyger in its talons. When the Spaniards approached this entrance, the Mexicans who accompanied Cortes walked up to one ſide of it, then retiring, formed a ſemicircle, that they might enter two a-breaſt; for it was eſteemed irreverent to enter the royal palace in a crowd. After their having paſſed three ſquares, they reached Montezuma's apartments, which they admired for their largeneſs and furniture. The walls were covered with cotton hangings, interwoven with the furs of rabbits, and the innermoſt rooms were adorned

with a very beautiful kind of tapeſtry, compoſed of feathers. The floors were alſo covered with mats, and the roofs were of cypreſs, cedar, and other kinds of odoriferous woods, adorned with foliages and relievos, and though the uſe of nails was unknown to the Mexicans, the ceilings were ſo contrived, that the planks ſupported each other. In theſe ſpacious rooms were officers who guarded the entrance, and at the door of the antichamber, were the nobility and magiſtrates, who received Cortes with much civility, but detained him until they had taken off their ſandals, and rich mantles, and put on others that made a leſs ſplendid appearance, for they thought it preſumptuous to appear in their richeſt apparel before the emperor. Montezuma, who was ſtanding with all his enſigns of royalty about him, advanced ſome ſteps to meet Cortes, who coming forwards with a low bow, the Emperor laid his hands upon his ſhoulders, gave the reſt of the Spaniards a ſmile, and then ſeating himſelf, deſired them to ſit, and entered into converſation with great freedom; aſked ſeveral queſtions relating to the manners and politics of the eaſtern countries, and made very judicious remarks upon the anſwers of Cortes. He then mentioned how much the Mexicans were obliged to the deſcendants of their firſt king, and ſeemed to rejoice in having the prophecy fulfilled in his reign. Cortes turned the diſcourſe upon religion, and particularly exclaimed againſt human ſacrifices with ſuch warmth, that Montezuma from that day, baniſhed diſhes of human fleſh from his table, though he maintained, that there was no cruelty in offering to the gods the priſoners of war, who were already condemned to death.

Some days after this interview, Montezuma, who was ſtill very fond of his own religion, con-

ducted Cortes and ſome of his principal officers, with father Bartholomew, to the chief temple, in order to let them ſee its magnificence; but before they were admitted, he cautioned them to behave with decency. The gates of this ſpacious edifice being opened, he himſelf explained the particulars of their worſhip with ſuch ſolemnity, as excited the laughter of the Spaniards, whoſe rudeneſs on this occaſion is not excuſeable. Cortes being here tranſported with a ridiculous and unreaſonable zeal, cried to Montezuma, "Allow "me, Sir, to fix the croſs of Chriſt before theſe "images of the devil, and you will ſee whether they "deſerve adoration or contempt." Both Montezuma and the prieſts were enraged at this propoſal; the former deſired them to withdraw, and following them to the threſhold, added, "You "may return to your houſe, my friends, but I "ſhall aſk pardon of my gods, for having ſuffered "you to proceed ſo far." Yet notwithſtanding his zeal for his religion, he was ſo from thinking of tyrannizing over the conſciences of the Spaniards, that he ordered workmen to be ſent to aſſiſt them in fitting up a chapel, in which both he and his chiefs were frequently preſent when maſs was performed.

It may here be proper to give a more particular deſcription of the city of Mexico, which was divided into two parts, one, where the meaner ſort reſided, was called Tlatelulco, while the other, appropriated to the court and the nobility, had the name of Mexico, which from thence was given to the whole city, that contained 60,000 families. This capital ſtood in a ſpacious plain, encompaſſed by high rocks and mountains, from which many rivulets falling down into the valley formed ſeveral lakes, among which there were two that extended about 30 leagues in circumference, and

were ſurrounded by fifty towns. Theſe lakes had a communication with each other through openings left in a ſtone wall by which they were divided, and over theſe openings were wooden bridges, with ſluices on each ſide, by which the lower lake was ſupplied from the other. The water of the uppermoſt lake was ſalt, which ſolely proceeded from the nature of the ſoil. The city of Mexico ſtood in the middle of the ſalt lake, in 19 degrees 13 minutes north latitude, yet it enjoyed a mild and healthy climate. It was joined to the main land by three noble cauſeways. The ſtreets were ſtraight and large, and had a great number of canals for the convenience of water-carriage, in barks and canoes of different ſizes; above 50,000 of which belonged to the city. All the public edifices and houſes of the nobility were built of ſtone, and though the dwellings of the common people were meaner and more irregular, they, as well as the others, were laid out in ſuch a manner, as to form ſeveral courts, in which their merchandize was expoſed to ſale. In the ſquare of Tlatelulco, fairs were kept on certain days of the year, and though it was one of the largeſt ſquares in the world, it was on ſuch occaſions entirely filled with tents, covered with coarſe cotton cloth, that afforded ſhelter both from the ſun and rain. They here ſold by barter, jewels, gold chains, various utenſils made of ſilver, pantings, beautiful landſkips made by an arrangement of feathers, different ſorts of cloth, drinking cups of a kind of porcelain, fruit, fiſh, and all kinds of proviſions; either maize or cocoas ſerved as money for things of ſmall value. Here a houſe was appointed for the judges of commerce, who decided all the diſputes that aroſe among the merchants, and even employed inferior officers to maintain juſtice and good order in the fair.

Their temples, as has been already obſerved, where ſpacious and magnificent, particularly that dedicated to Vitzliputzli, their god of war, their ſupreme deity. A wall of hewn ſtone, on which were cut wreaths of ſerpents, ſurrounded a large ſquare, and though the houſes of the prieſts and their ſervants were erected round the inſide of this wall, there was left room ſufficient for 10,000 perſons to dance upon their ſolemn feſtivals. On each ſide of the wall was a gate, over which ſtood four ſtatues of ſtone, repreſenting ſome inferior deities, to whom the people paid reverence as they entered. At a ſmall diſtance from the principal gate, was a place of worſhip flat on the top, the four ſides of which were encompaſſed by trunks of trees with holes bored in them at equal diſtances, through which paſſed ſeveral bars run through the heads of men who had been ſacrificed. In the centre of the ſquare ſtood a lofty ſtone tower, with a ſtair-caſe that conſiſted of 120 ſteps, by which the people aſcended to the top, where was a flat pavement forty feet ſquare, beautifully paved with jaſper, and ſurrounded with a balluſtrade of a ſerpentine form. At the top of the ſtairs ſtood two marble ſtatues well executed, ſupporting two large candleſticks of an extraordinary make. A little farther was a green ſtone raiſed about three feet from the pavement, on which the prieſts extended the miſerable victim, while they opened his breaſt, and plucked out his heart. Beyond this ſtone, ſtood a chapel of excellent workmanſhip, which fronted the ſtair-caſe, and here the idol was placed upon an high altar, ſurrounded with curtains. The idol was in the form of a man ſitting in a chair, ſuſtained by a blue globe, furniſhed with four rods, which projected from the ſides, each terminating in a ſerpent's head. By

theſe rods, the idol was carried by the prieſts on their ſhoulders when it was expoſed to the public view; on the head of the god was a helmet compoſed of plumes, in the form of a bird, with a bill and creſt of burniſhed gold. The countenance of this deity was horrible, his forehead and noſe being ſwathed with blue bands; in his right hand he held a curling ſerpent, and in the other four arrows, and a ſhield, with five white plumes placed in the form of a croſs. On the left was another of the ſame ſize and form, for the idol Tlalock, the ſuppoſed brother of that already deſcribed, and equally revered by the Mexicans. The ornaments of theſe chapels were of ineſtimable value. The city of Mexico had eight temples built nearly in the ſame manner; but thoſe of a ſmaller ſize, dedicated to different idols, amounted to 2000.

Montezuma had, beſides the palace in which he kept his court, ſeveral magnificent pleaſure-houſes, one of which was a noble building ſupported by pillars of jaſper. In this palace he had an aviary of thoſe birds that are moſt remarkable on account of their ſinging or feathers, and theſe were ſo numerous, that 3000 men were ſaid to be employed in attending them. At a ſmall diſtance was another very large edifice, where Montezuma's fowlers reſided and took care of his birds of prey, among which were ſome bred to the game, like our hawks; and in the ſame place were eagles of an extraordinary ſize, and extremely voracious. In the ſecond ſquare of this laſt building were kept the wild beaſts, as lions, tigers, bears and Mexican bulls, which are remarkably fierce and ſtrong, and over their dens was a large apartment, where buffoons and monſters were kept for the emperor's diverſion.

In Montezuma's armories a great number of workmen were employed in making ſhafts for ar-

rows, grinding flints for the points, and in forming all kinds of offenſive and defenſive weapons. In another building the arms were depoſited in great order; theſe conſiſted of two-handed ſwords edged with flint, darts, javelins, bows, arrows, and quivers, head-pieces, breaſt-plates, quilted jackets, and others made of impenetrable ſkins to cover the whole body, which they carried rolled up on their left ſhoulders, and put them on when they were ready to engage. All theſe ſeveral houſes had ſpacious and well cultivated gardens, in which were a great variety of flowers and medicinal herbs ſet in ſquares. They were alſo adorned with fountains and beautiful ſummer-houſes.

But the moſt ſingular of all Montezuma's edifices was his houſe of ſorrow, to which he retired in caſe of public calamity, or at the death of a favourite relation. It was well calculated for promoting gloomy reflections, for the walls, roofs, and ornaments were black, and no other light was admitted, but what proceeded from ſome narrow openings in the walls, which were but juſt ſufficient to diſcover the gloomy objects within.

Montezuma had alſo ſeveral pleaſant country retreats, and large foreſts for the chace of wild beaſts, in which he greatly delighted. In theſe ſports a number of perſons ſurrounded the game, and contracted the circle into a certain ſpace, where he beheld the combats of his huntſmen with the wild beaſts, in which the Mexicans were equally dextrous and daring.

When an emperor was elected, he was obliged to obtain ſome victory over his enemies, before he was permitted to aſcend the throne; but having thus proved himſelf qualified for the taſk of reigning by his ſucceſs, he returned in triumph, and having made his public entry with great ſtate and ſolemnity, all the nobility, miniſters, and prieſts,

attended him to the temple of the god of war, where he alighted from his chariot, and having offered the cuſtomary ſacrifice, was clothed by the electors in royal robes, who alſo put into his right hand a golden ſword as an enſign of juſtice, and in his left a bow and arrows, to ſignify his power and command in war. Then the Cacique of Tezeuco placed a kind of golden mitre on his head. This ceremony being performed, one of the moſt eloquent of the magiſtrates made a ſpeech, in which he congratulated him on his new dignity; expatiated on the cares and troubles that attend a throne, and upon the duty of a ſovereign. The chief prieſt then approaching, tendered him an oath, by which he bound himſelf to maintain the religion of his anceſtors, and the laws and cuſtoms of the empire, to treat his vaſſals with lenity, and abſurdly promiſed to procure ſeaſonable rains, to prevent ſterility, inundations, and the malignant influences of the ſun and planets,

Montezuma had two ſorts of guards, the one of 200 nobles, who were obliged to attend every day at the palace, to guard his perſon. This attendance was divided between two bodies that were upon duty by turns, comprehending the lords of the whole empire, who were obliged to come to court from the moſt diſtant provinces. This was a ſcheme which Montezuma himſelf had contrived for keeping the nobility in dependance, and rendering himſelf acquainted with their perſons, capacities, and diſpoſitions. His other guards were compoſed of ſoldiers, who filled the courts of the palace, and were poſted in bodies at the principal gates.

Montezuma had two wives who bore the title of queens, and were the daughters of tributary princes; theſe were lodged in ſeparate apartments, and lived in equal ſplendor. His concubines,

however, who were ſelected from the moſt beautiful women throughout his dominions, exceeded 3000, and theſe, when diſmiſſed, were married by perſons of the firſt quality; for they were generally rich, and thought to be highly honoured by their being admitted to the emperor's embraces.

Though he often eat in public, it was always alone. His table was generally furniſhed with above 200 diſhes of different meats, ſome of which were well ſeaſoned. Of theſe he choſe a certain number for his own uſe, and the reſt were divided among the nobles and his guard. He ſat on a little ſtool at a large low table, the cloths and napkins of which were of fine cotton. His dining-room was divided in the middle by a rail, which kept both the crowd and his own domeſtics at a diſtance, without obſtructing the view, and within the rails he was attended by three or four old favourite ſervants. The diſhes were brought in by twenty women richly ornamented, who ſerved up the meat, and preſented him with the cup. The cloths and napkins, as well as all the diſhes of fine earthen ware, on their being once uſed, were diſtributed among the ſervants. He ſometimes drank out of cocoa, and other ſhells, richly ſet with jewels, and he alſo uſed gold cups and ſalvers. He drank ſeveral ſorts of liquor, one of which was a kind of beer made of maize; he had other liquors richly perfumed, and others again mixed with the juice of ſalutiferous herbs. After his meals he took a kind of chocolate, and ſmoked tobacco perfumed with liquid amber. Indeed the juice of this herb was one of the ingredients with which the prieſts intoxicated themſelves whenever they were obliged to deliver an oracular anſwer. There were generally at the table three or four buffoons, who diverted the emperor with their ludicrous talents; and at proper

intervals he was entertained with muſic, compoſed of pipes and inſtruments made of ſea ſhells, accompanied by voices, which formed an agreeable concert. The ſubject of theſe ſongs was generally the memorable actions of their kings, and the exploits of their anceſtors. They had alſo merry ſongs uſed in dancing, when the voice was accompanied with two little drums made of hollow pieces of wood, of different ſizes and ſounds; theſe were principally uſed in a dance called Mitates, practiſed at feſtivals, in which the nobles and common people uſed ſhouting and odd geſticulations, mingling together without diſtinction, and drank to each other until they grew intoxicated.

Upon other occaſions the people aſſembled in the porches and ſquares of the temples, and made matches for wreſtling, running races, and ſhooting at the mark. Here were alſo rope-dancers, who performed with ſurpriſing dexterity, without the aſſiſtance of poles, and alſo great numbers of people playing at ball, near the ſtatue of an idol, brought out by the prieſts as the ſuperintendants of that diverſion. In ſhort, the people of Mexico were almoſt daily diverted with ſuch ſpectacles and amuſements, as were contrived by Montezuma, to entertain them, and prevent their employing their thoughts to his prejudice.

The great revenue which enabled Montezuma to ſupport the expences of his court, and to keep two large armies conſtantly in the field, aroſe from the contributions levied on the ſubject, which amounted to one third of the annual produce of that vaſt empire; from the ſalt-works and other taxes, eſtabliſhed from time immemorial, and from the produce of the gold and ſilver mines. All the towns in the neighbourhood of Mexico provided men for the king's works and fuel for the palace. The nobility were obliged to guard the emperor's

perſon, to ſerve in his armies with a certain number of vaſſals, and to make him preſents, which though he recived as gifts, they durſt not neglect. He had different treaſurers for all the different kinds of contributions, and the tribunal of the crown revenue having iſſued out what was neceſſary for the expence of the palaces, and for war, converted the overplus into ingots of gold. Beſides this tribunal, there was a council of juſtice, which received appeals from inferior courts; a council of ſtate, and a council of war; judges of commerce, and other officers. As they had no written laws, but were governed by the cuſtoms and inſtitutions of their anceſtors, their trials were ſummary and verbal; murder, theft, adultery, and any ſlight diſreſpect towards the emperor, were puniſhed with death; but all other crimes were eaſily pardoned.

New-born infants were taken with great ſolemnity to the temple, where the prieſts gave them ſome admonitions relating to the troubles to which they were born. When the child was the ſon of one of the nobles, they put a ſword into his right hand, and upon his left arm a ſhield, kept in the temple for that purpoſe. If he was of plebeian extraction, they put mechanical inſtruments into his hands, but the females of both ranks were preſented with the ſpindle and diſtaff. After this ceremony was perſormed, the infant was taken to the altar, and his privities pricked with a thorn, or cut with a lancet of flint, ſo as to draw a few drops of blood, which was no ſooner done, than they were ſprinkled with water. The children of the plebeians were inſtructed in public ſchools, and thoſe of the nobility in well endowed colleges, where they paſſed through three ſucceſſive claſſes; in the firſt of which they were taught to read the characters and hieroglyphics, and to repeat

the hiſtorical ſongs: In the ſecond, they were inſtructed in the rules of civility, modeſty, and a polite behaviour: And in the third they were inured to robuſt exerciſes, as wreſtling, managing their arms; the hardſhips of ſuffering hunger and thirſt, and the inclemencies of the weather. Having acquired theſe qualifications, the young noblemen who were deſigned for war were ſent as volunteers to the army, in order to accuſtom them to dangers and hardſhips, where they were often placed among the baggage men, and their ſhoulders loaded with proviſions, to mortify their vanity, and inure their bodies to fatigue. After which they were obliged to give ſome proofs of valour, before they could be enrolled as ſoldiers.

Their marriage ceremony was very ſimple, for the contract being ſettled, the parties appeared in the temple, when the prieſt having examined them with reſpect to their mutual paſſion, he tied a tip of the woman's veil to the corner of the bridegroom's garment, and accompanied them, joined in this manner, to their habitation, where they went ſeven times round the fire, and then ſitting down to receive an equal ſhare of the heat, the marriage was completed. The huſband then requeſted the bride's portion; but was afterwards obliged to reſtore it in caſe of ſeparation, which was often effected by mutual conſent. In that caſe the boys remained with the father, and the girls went with the mother, and the marriage being thus diſſolved, the parties were forbid to join again on pain of death.

The Mexicans believed the immortality of the ſoul, and that it was rewarded or puniſhed in a future ſtate, but buried gold and ſilver with the deceaſed to defray the expence of their journey, which they imagined to be long and troubleſome. Some ſervants were even ſlain to bear them com-

pany, and the wives frequently killed themſelves in order to accompany their huſbands: And when the emperor died, all his houſhold officers were obliged to follow him to the other world.

The Mexican year, as well as ours, conſiſted of 365 days, but was divded into eighteen months of twenty days each, and at the end of the year, five days, appropriated to pleaſure and a ceſſation from buſineſs, were added to make it anſwer the courſe of the ſun; they had alſo a kind of weeks of thirteen days, to which different names were given, and a much longer period, ſtiled ages, which conſiſted of four weeks of years. This large period was repreſented in a very ſingular manner. In the centre of a circle, divided into fifty-two degrees, allowing a year for each, they painted the ſun, from whoſe rays proceeded four lines of different colours, which equally divided the circumference, leaving thirteen degrees to each quarter, and here the ſun had his proſperous or adverſe aſpects, according to the colour of the line. In a larger circle, which incloſed the other, they marked with their characters the chief occurrences of the age, and theſe ſecular annals were conſidered as public inſtruments that ſerved for proofs of hiſtorical facts.

CHAPTER IX.

Cortes receives a very alarming letter from Vera Cruz, in conſequence of which he takes Montezuma his priſoner, and ſome time after loads him with fetters. The Spaniards build two ſhips upon the Lake. A conſpiracy formed againſt them; but diſcovered by Montezuma, and the principal conductor puniſhed. Montezuma declares Charles V. king of Spain, his ſucceſſor; and offers to become tributary to that prince, to which he gains the conſent of the States, and confirms it by great preſents. After which he inſiſts upon Cortes's leaving Mexico; who is informed of the arrival of a fleet ſent againſt him by Velaſquez.

THE Mexicans ſeemed to vie with each other, in expreſſing their regard for the Spaniards. They were daily entertained with ſome new diverſion, at which Montezuma appeared in perſon, a condeſcenſion which inſpired the people with a higher reverence and eſteem for theſe ſtrangers. He appeared particularly fond of Cortes, ſpending a great part of his time with him, and contracted an acquaintance with his captains, to whom he frequently made preſents, in which he diſtinguiſhed the merit of each with great diſcernment. Thus the Spaniards enjoyed an agreeable repoſe; but were at length alarmed by a letter from Vera Cruz, brought by two Tlaſcalan ſoldiers, who had diſguiſed themſelves ſo as to appear like Mexicans, and had entered the city unperceived.

This letter informed Cortes, that ſome of the Indians in alliance with the Spaniards complained to Juan de Eſcalante, that Qualpopoca, one of Montezuma's generals, had aſſembled a great body

of forces upon the frontiers of Zempoalla, where they levied contributions with very great cruelty. Upon which Eſcalante ſent to deſire the Mexican general to ſuſpend hoſtilities until further orders ſhould come from Mexico, where the Spaniards, the allies of thoſe people, were entertained by Montezuma with great hoſpitality. But Qualpopoca ſending a very inſolent anſwer, Eſcalante was ſo provoked, that he marched againſt him at the head of forty Spaniards, and 2000 Indians, and coming to an engagement, he put the Mexicans to flight, and notwithſtanding his being almoſt entirely abandoned by his Indian allies, purſued them to the next town, where he attacked them with ſuch reſolution, that he entirely routed and diſlodged them. This victory, however, coſt the Spaniards very dear, for Juan de Eſcalante was mortally wounded, ſix of the ſoldiers alſo receives ſeveral wounds, and Juan de Arguillo, a man of extraordinary ſtature, was carried off alive. In this letter, the council of Vera Cruz deſired Cortes to appoint them a new governor, and to give them directions relating to their affairs.

Cortes being greatly concerned at the loſs of Juan de Eſcalante, communicated the letter to his captains; deſiring each of them would give his opinion freely at their next meeting, and the following morning ſent for ſome of the moſt ſenſible Indians in his army, when having aſked them, if they had lately perceived any change in the behaviour or diſcourſe of the Mexicans? they informed him, that the nobles appeared penſive and myſterious; that they had heard ſome of the people talk of breaking down the cauſeway, and that there was a report that a Spaniard's head had been preſented to Montezuma, who viewed it with aſtoniſhment on account of its largeneſs, and the fierce-

neſs of its aſpect, and immediately ordered it to be concealed.

From theſe circumſtances, and particulary that of the head, which Cortes ſuppoſed belonged to Arguillo, he immediately concluded that the Mexicans were reſolved on his deſtruction, and that Montezuma himſelf had concerted the ruin of the Spaniards; he therefore immediately aſſembled his council, compoſed of his captains and ſome favourite ſoldiers, and having told them the hints he had received from the Indians, aſked their advice. Some propoſed that they ſhould retire privately in the night: others that they ſhould obtain a paſſport from Montezuma, and then retire publicly, and march to the relief of Vera Cruz; but the greateſt part were of opinion that they ſhould continue at Mexico without ſeeming to know what had paſſed at Vera Cruz, until they found an opportunity of retreating with ſafety. However, none of theſe ſchemes were approved by Cortes, who repreſented, that the project of retreating by ſtealth, was equally dangerous and diſgraceful, ſince it would lower them in the eſteem of their allies, who might deſert them as daſtardly fugitives, and perhaps recommend themſelves to Montezuma's favour, by joining his forces in order to cut off their retreat. He obſerved that nothing could ſink them lower in the opinion of the Mexicans than their demanding a paſſport, to retire from a city, which they had entered in ſpite of all oppoſition; and that if the emperor really ſought their deſtruction, he would grant them a ſafe conduct with a view of depriving them of all apprehenſions, and attacking them when it was leaſt expected; and as to their ſtaying at Mexico, he thought that would be highly imprudent without taking ſome reſolute

ſtep for their ſafety. He therefore propoſed their ſeizing Montezuma, conveying him to their own quarters, and detaining him there as an hoſtage for the ſincerity of his people. Such a bold action, he alleged, would fill the Mexicans with conſternation, and ſo raiſe the character of the Spaniards that they would never dream of combining againſt them for the future, eſpecially when they were ſenſible he had diſcovered the tranſactions at Vera Cruz, which they would imagine had been communicated by ſome ſupernatural intelligence.—This daring propoſal he ſupported with all his eloquence, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that it was unanimouſly applauded.

Cortes having choſen the hour, when the Spaniards were accuſtomed to wait upon Montezuma, for the execution of this bold project, ordered his people to arm themſelves in their quarters, privately to ſaddle their horſes, and to wait without noiſe for farther inſtructions. He then occupied all the avenues to the palace with ſmall ſcattered detachments, and directing thirty choice men to follow him at a diſtance, went thither attended by four of his captains, who, as they uſually caried their arms with them, their doing ſo now occaſioned no ſuſpicions. Montezuma, according to cuſtom, came out of his apartment to receive the viſit, and his ſervants retired, as uſual, to another part of the palace, when Cortes, with an air of reſentment, complained of the Mexican general, for attacking his confederates in violation of a peace under which they thought themſelves ſecure; for murdering a Spaniard in cold blood, and endeavouring to vindicate his perfidous conduct, by declaring that he acted in obedience to his majeſty's commands.

On hearing this charge, Montezuma changed colour, but denied it with marks of confuſion;

when Cortes, pretending to believe him innocent, replied, that after ſuch a declartion made by his general, neither the Spaniards nor his own ſubjects would be undeceived, unleſs he took ſome extraordinary ſtep to efface the impreſſion made by ſuch a calumny. That he was therefore come to beg, that he would, without any diſturbance, repair with him to the Spaniſh quarters, where he ſhould be treated with all the reverence and reſpect due to his majeſty, until his character ſhould be vindicated to the ſatisfaction of all mankind. Montezuma, amazed, and incenſed at the boldneſs of this requeſt, replied, that princes of his rank were not accuſtomed to go tamely to priſon, nor would his ſubjects permit his ſo far forgetting his duty, as to ſtoop to ſo baſe a compliance. Notwithſtanding Cortes made uſe of other arguments, he ſtill refuſed to leave the palace, but being ſenſible of his danger, offered to ſend immediately for Qualpopoca, and to deliver him, and all his officers, into Cortes's hands, and in the mean time, to give him two of his own ſons as hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe. Cortes, however, was not ſatisfied with theſe expedients, and his captains apprehending that the delay might be dangerous, began to grow clamorous; and, among others, Juan Velaſquez de Leon called aloud, ſince he will not hear reaſon, let us ſeize him by force, or kill him on the ſpot. The emperor, hearing this uttered in angry tone, deſired to know what he ſaid, when Marina, to whom he addreſſed himſelf, earneſtly exhorted him, as his own vaſſal and ſubject, to comply without heſitation, in order to preſerve his life; which had ſuch an effect, that he immediately roſe from his ſeat, and ſaid to Cortes, "I truſt "myſelf into your hands, let us go to your quar- "ters, for ſo the gods have decreed." He then

ordered his ſervants to get ready his equipage, told his miniſter that he had reſolved to paſs ſome days at the Spaniſh quarters, and ordered the captain of his guard to march with a body of troops, and take Qualpopoca and his officers priſoners, that they might ſuffer for having invaded Zempoalla.

Montezuma having given theſe directions which Marina explained to Cortes and his officers, he left the palace with his uſual attendants; the Spaniards, on pretence of reſpect, marching cloſe by his chariot, which, as uſual, was carried on the ſhoulders of his nobles. However, a report was inſtantly ſpread, that the ſtrangers had ſeized the emperor's perſon; when the ſtreets were ſuddenly filled with crowds of people, who rent the air with their cries, threw themſelves on the ground, ſhedding floods of tears for their unhappy prince, and a general inſurrection would have certainly followed, had not Montezuma, with a very ſerene countenance, commanded ſilence, and aſſured the populace, that he was going of his own accord to ſpend a few days with his friends the Spaniards. On his reaching their quarters, he ordered his guards to diſperſe the populace, and his miniſters to make it known, that the leaſt tumult or diſturbance, ſhould be puniſhed with death. He then behaved in a very courteous manner to the Spaniſh ſoldiers who came out to receive him, and having choſen an apartment, at ſome diſtance from thoſe in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, it was inſtantly furniſhed for his reception.

Cortes immediately doubled the guards, poſted centinels at all the avenues, and, under the pretence of keeping his majeſty from being crowded, reſtrained the miniſters and courtiers that waited upon Montezuma to a certain number. Mean while he preſerved all the formalities of decorum,

and treated the emperor with his uſual reſpect, while that prince appeared cheerful and in good humour, and ſeemed perfectly pleaſed with his ſituation. He ſtill exerciſed all the functions of royalty, held councils, granted audiences, and, with the ſame freedom as uſual, regulated both the civil and military government of his kingdom. His table was ſupplied from the palace in a moſt plentiful manner, in order that the Spaniards might feaſt on the ſuperfluity: and he conſtantly ſent ſome delicates to Cortes and his captains, each of whom he could call by their names. While he occaſionally converſed with them, he ſtudied their tempers, and, without deſcending beneath the dignity of his character, ſeaſoned his diſcourſe with pleaſantry. All the time in which he was not employed in buſineſs, he paſſed among them, and ſometimes he played with Cortes at Tololoque, a game which conſiſted of tipping down ſmall pins of gold with little balls of the ſame metal; and as they played for jewels and trinkets, the emperor diſtributed his winnings among the Spaniards, and Cortes ſhared his good fortune among Montezuma's inferior officers.

While things were in this ſituation the captain of the guard returned with Qualpopoca, his ſon, and fifteen of the nobles, who had been concerned in the killing the Spaniard; they had ſurrendered themſelves at the ſight of the royal ſignet, and now arrived about twenty days after the beginning of Montezuma's confinement. Many great men went out to meet them, and their general was brought in upon men's ſhoulders, when Qualapopoca appearing before the emperor, the latter upbraided him for having killed the Spaniard, and delivered him and the other officers into the hands of Cortes, to whom they confeſſed themſelves guilty of having violated the peace of their own

accord, and of their having ordered Arguillo to be put to death: till finding that the Spaniſh general reſolved to take away their lives, they laid the whole blame upon the emperor, whoſe orders they obeyed. Cortes, however, treated this as a malicious aſperſion, brought them to a formal trial, in which the Spaniards were both the judges and accuſers, and cruelly ſentenced them to be burned alive.

To deter Montezuma from endeavouring to prevent the execution of this ſentence, the general reſolved on taking another ſurprizing ſtep. He went into that prince's preſence, accompanied by Marina, and three or four captains, with a common a ſoldier carrying fetters, and having ſaluted the emperor with his uſual reſpect, aſſumed a peremptory look, and in a loud voice told him, that Qualpopoca and his officers had acknowledged the crimes for which they were condemned to death; but as they pretended they had done nothing without his orders, it was neceſſary that he ſhould ſuffer ſome perſonal mortification. He then, with an air of authority, commanded the ſoldier to ſhackle Montezuma, and then leaving him, gave orders to the guards to prevent his having any communication with his miniſters.

Montezuma's aſtoniſhment at being treated in this ignominious manner, was ſo great, that he had neither power to reſiſt, nor ſpeech to complain; while his ſervants, without uttering a word, threw themſelves at his feet, and, with ſigns of the deepeſt affliction, ſupported the weight of his fetters, to prevent their hurting his legs.—However, when he firſt recovered from his ſurprize and amazement, he flew into a tranſport of rage; but ſoon recovering himſelf, collected his fortitude, and believing his life in danger, waited his fate with dignity and reſignation.

Cortes orders Montezuma to be put in Irons

In the mean time Cortes ordered the Mexican general, with his ſon and the reſt of the officers, to be conducted under a ſtrong guard of Spaniards to a large ſquare, where in the preſence of an innumerable concourſe of people, their hands and feet were bound, after which they were placed on a large pile of broken bows and arrows, and fire being ſet to it, they were ſoon burned, to the amazement of all the ſpectators, who, without making the leaſt diſturbance, were ſtruck with awe and admiration. Cortes then returned to Montezuma's apartment, and telling him with a ſmile, that the traitors who had preſumed to blemiſh his majeſty's character, had now received their juſt puniſhment, he ſtooped down, and with his own hands took off the fetters. The emperor received his liberty with a tumultuous joy, embraced Cortes ſeveral times, and ſitting both of them down together, entered into an amicable converſation, during which the Spaniſh general let him know, that as the cauſe of his detention was now removed, he might return to his palace whenever he pleaſed. This was however no more than a political offer, which he knew he would not embrace: for Marina had been ordered to infuſe into him a firm belief, that if he quitted the Spaniſh quarters before Cortes's departure, he would ſuffer greatly in his reputation, as ſoon as it ſhould be known that he received his freedom from the hand of another. He therefore declined the offer, and made a merit of his ſtay, by ſaying, that on his return to his palace, his nobility and miniſters would preſs him to take up arms, in order to obtain ſatisfaction for the injury he had undergone, and therefore, out of regard to the Spaniards he would remain where he was.

From this time the emperor ſeemed perfectly ſatisfied with his ſituation, and at length had ſuch

confidence in Cortes, that he repreſented to him the expediency of allowing him to viſit ſome of his temples, that his ſubjects might no longer look upon him as a priſoner, which Cortes readily granted, upon condition that human ſacrifices ſhould be aboliſhed. His firſt excurſion was to the principal temple, which he entered with his uſual pomp and attendance, and his appearace was celebrated with the joyful acclamations of the people, among whom he diſtributed his bounty with uncommon liberality. From this time he went abroad as often as he pleaſed, ſometimes to the palace of his wives, and at others to his pleaſure-houſes, where he enjoyed his former amuſement, but never without mentioning it to Cortes, who generally attended him in his parties of diverſion, and ſeemed ſo highly to engroſs his favour, that the nobles, who had any petition to offer to the emperor, conſtantly ſolicited the general's intereſt, which always proved ſucceſsful. But notwithſtanding this ſeeming tranquility, the broken expreſſions overheard by the Tlaſcalans, about breaking the cauſeways and removing the bridges, had made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon Cortes's mind, that he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the lake, by building two brigantines upon it.

Filled with this idea, he raiſed Montezuma's curioſity, by deſcribing the manner of ſailing with the wind, which was entirely unknown to the Mexicans, and obtained his permiſſion to build two veſſels for his majeſty's amuſement, and the inſtruction of his ſubjects. He then ordered the nails, cordage, canvas, and other tackle, belonging to the Spaniſh ſhips that had been ſunk, to be brought from Vera Cruz, and ſome builders, who had enliſted as ſoldiers, were immediately ſet at work, with many of the Mexican carpenters, who followed their directions, ſo that in a ſhort time

the brigantines were completed, and Montezuma reſolved to embark with the Spaniards, in order to have a nearer view of this ſtrange kind of navigation. Great preparations were made for this uncommon ſpectacle; a prodigious number of canoes, belonging to the emperor and others, were finely decorated, and manned with the moſt expert rowers. The Mexicans firmly believed that their boats would exceed the brigantines in ſwiftneſs: However a breeze no ſooner ſprung up, than theſe veſſels unfurled their ſails, and ſoon left the canoes at a great diſtance, to the great amazement of the Indians, who could form no idea of the European manner of ſteering and working ſuch floating-houſes, and they expreſsly declared, that by means of theſe wonderful machines, they believed the Spaniards could perfectly command the elements of wind and water. The aſtoniſhment of Montezuma, was mingled with joy, and he beheld the victory with the higheſt delight, though it was obtained over his own ſubjects.

The emperor now became daily more attached to Cortes, while the latter laid hold of this opportunity to deſire his aſſiſtance in accompliſhing various things he had in view; the firſt of which was the knowledge of the gold mines, their ſituation, how they were wrought, and what quantity of that precious metal was brought from them. Montezuma gave him very clear and diſtinct anſwers to all thoſe enquiries, and, for his further ſatisfaction, allowed ſuch of his people as he could truſt, to go to the mines both within and without his dominions. Cortes being alſo deſirous of having a map of the coaſt of the Mexican empire, in order to be the better able to fix upon ſome port, to which ſupplies might be ſent him, the emperor ordered his painters to draw an exact repreſenta-

tion of all his territories, with all the bays, harbours, and creeks upon the coaſt.

Some Spaniſh hiſtorians ſay, that at this time when ſuch real harmony ought to have prevailed between the Spaniards and the Indians, Cortes's ſoldiers reſolved to demoliſh all the idols of Mexico, and to convert the principal temple into a church; that the prieſts took up arms, and the whole city roſe in defence of their gods; but after a long conteſt maintained without bloodſhed, the Mexicans agreed, that a part of the temple ſhould be converted into a chriſtian chapel, and this even the idolatrous prieſts themſelves took great pains to clear and adorn; after which an altar was erected, with the croſs of Chriſt, and the image of the Virgin Mary; but that at length the Mexicans wanting rain, came in a tumultuous manner to Cortes, and complained that their gods had refuſed to refreſh the earth, on account of their having introduced ſtrange deities into their temples, when, to appeaſe this diſorder, he promiſed, that they ſhould have a plentiful ſhower, which, it is pretended, actually fell in a few hours, to the great admiration of Montezuma and his ſubjects. But it is very improbable that Cortes ſhould ſuffer his ſoldiers to engage in ſo raſh an enterprize, that could not fail of exaſperating the minds of the Indians, and indeed the whole ſtory appears to be only a fiction, deſigned to raiſe the character of Cortes, by having a miracle wrought in his favour.

While the Spaniſh general continued to enjoy Montezuma's favour, a plot was formed, which neither the emperor nor Cortes could foreſee. Cacumazin, the emperor's own nephew, who was Cacique of Tezeuco, being a young man of great vivacity, art, and ambition, under the pretence of delivering Montezuma, entertained deſigns of af-

cending the throne of Mexico, either by occaſioning an immediate revolution, or by obtaining it by the favour of the people at the next election.

In order to which he privately repreſented to the nobles and people, the diſgrace of being under ſubjection to a handful of ſtrangers, who dared to confine his uncle Montezuma; the audacious behaviour of Cortes, who had acted as a ſupreme magiſtrate in the midſt of Mexico, and had even by a moſt ignominious execution put an Indian general to death; that it was high time to ſtand up for their religion, their liberty, their honour, and their king, before the ſtrangers had ſuccours from their own country, from Tlaſcala, and other parts; and therefore propoſed that they ſhould take arms, and ſuddenly attack the Spaniards in their quarters. But the Cacique of Mataleingo, who was likewiſe Montezuma's nephew, and eaſily penetrated into Cacumazin's deſigns, which interfered with his own pretenſion, oppoſed the execution of this ſcheme, inſiſting that ſome ſteps ſhould firſt be taken to ſecure the emperor's perſon, which would be in the greateſt danger from ſuch an attack, and finding his expedient rejected by the aſſembly, as impracticable, reſolved to inform Montezuma of the conſpiracy, though he ſeemed to act in concert with the council, who actually appointed the day in which the enterprize was to be executed. Montezuma was no ſooner informed of this plot, than he went to communicate the particulars to Cortes, who by means of his ſpies was already informed of the whole. He however returned thanks to the emperor for his information, and begged to be allowed to march out with the Spaniards to chaſtiſe Cacumazin. Montezuma urged ſeveral good arguments againſt this propoſal, deſired the general to leave the puniſhment of the offender to his care, and ſoon took ſuch meaſures, that his

nephew was ſeized and brought priſoner to Mexico, where he was cloſely confined. At this very time Cacumazin had a brother in Mexico, who was a youth of great courage, whom Montezuma had taken into his protection; but a few days before he had narrowly eſcaped a ſnare which Cacumazin, in conſequence of ſome domeſtic jealouſies, had laid for his life. Upon this occaſion Cortes diſſuaded the emperor from putting a prince of the blood to death by a public execution; but adviſed him to deprive Cacumazin of his rank and dominions, and to beſtow them on his brother, who deſerved that mark of indulgence. Montezuma was greatly pleaſed with this advice, which he inſtantly communicated to his council, who applauded it as equally juſt and merciful; and this manner of chaſtizing without bloodſhed, being admired by the whole empire, had ſuch an effect on the reſt of the conſpirators, that they diſbanded their troops, and had recourſe to the clemency of the emperor, whoſe pardon they obtained through the interceſſion of Cortes.

But though Montezuma appeared ſo well ſatisfied with Cortes, he was far from being pleaſed at the Spaniards ſtaying ſo long in his capital, and ſeveral mortifying reflections rankled at his heart, and diſturbed his repoſe; for he could not compare his former ſituation with what he had ſuffered from the Spaniards, and his preſent dependent ſtate, without having very humbling thoughts. He here, however, proved himſelf ſo great a politician, that he entirely concealed the diſpoſition of his mind, and when he actually propoſed to Cortes the ſcheme he had formed to get rid of him, he was ſo far from conceiving it in that light, that he thought it the higheſt act of favour he had ever conferred upon him. He took a proper opportunity to inform him, that he was now prepared to make a vo-

luntary acknowledgment of the vaſſalage he owed to the king of Spain, as the ſucceſſor of Quezalcoal; that he would convoke a general aſſembly of his nobles for that purpoſe, and, as a mark of that vaſſalage, would preſent the moſt valuable jewels of his treaſury to the Spaniſh monarch, and did not doubt but all his Caciques would follow his example. Cortes returned him thanks for his liberality, without appearing ſurprized at his propoſal, and inwardly rejoiced at the proſpect of being able to give his ſovereign ſuch an important earneſt of the wealth he might one day reap from this acquiſition.

Montezuma, agreeably to his promiſe, diſpatched couriers to convene all the Caciques of his empire, according to a cuſtom practiſed on important occaſions. They came with equal ſplendor and expedition, and the council was aſſembled in the king's apartment, in the preſence of Cortes and his captains. The emperor began with a ſtudied ſpeech, in which he reminded them of the obligations they were under to him as their ſovereign and benefactor, and having aſſured them, that he had both conſulted and obtained the approbation of the gods, with reſpect to the cauſe of their meeting, repeated the ſtory and prophecy of Quezalcoal, declared that the king of Spain was the deſcendant of that mighty prince, and conſequently the lawful ſovereign of the Mexican empire, to whom both he and they were bound to pay obedience, as a mark of which he had ſelected for an offering to the king of Spain the moſt precious jewels of his treaſury, and he did not doubt but they would follow his example.

Montezuma was unable to pronounce this ſpeech without interruption; he ſighed from time to time, and on his owning himſelf the vaſſal of another prince, the tears trickled down his cheeks,

and he was unable to proceed. Cortes then riſing, declared that it was not his ſovereign's intention to diſpoſſeſs Montezuma, or to occaſion the leaſt innovation in his government, and that he only required them to ſettle his right to the ſucceſſion in favour of his deſcendants, at which Montezuma reſuming freſh courage, finiſhed his ſpeech. The whole aſſembly were amazed, and ſtruck dumb at a propoſal that appeared ſo inconſiſtent with the dignity and known character of the emperor, and conſidering it as extorted by compulſion, they groaned bitterly; gave the ſtrongeſt marks of anxiety and perturbation of mind, and with an emphatic ſilence looked at each other. At length the prime miniſter, who was well acquainted with his prince's diſpoſition, took upon himſelf to anſwer, in the name of the whole aſſembly, and aſſured Montezuma, that as all the nobles eſteemed him their natural lord and ſovereign, they would cheerfully obey whatever he thought proper to propoſe, and follow his majeſty's example to the utmoſt of their power. The whole aſſembly expreſſed their aſſent to this declaration, when Cortes, by means of his interpreter made an artful ſpeech, in which he returned thanks to Montezuma and all preſent, for this proof of their reſpect, which he accepted in the name of his king. It is probable that Montezuma's ſole intention in this tranſaction, was to forward the departure of his gueſts, without the leaſt deſign of fulfilling the terms of this ſubmiſſion for the future. However, from that day, Charles V. was acknowledged, and believed by the people to be lawful ſovereign of the Mexican empire, and their homage, according to the cuſtom of the country, was authenticated by a public inſtrument.

The Emperor, having concluded this affair to his own ſatisfaction, reſolved immediately to re-

cover that liberty and independence for which he had ſo long ſighed in ſecret, and ſpeedily delivered to Cortes the preſent he had provided, conſiſting of curioſities in gold, in the ſhape of birds, fiſhes, and four-footed beaſts, and many precious ſtones, particularly a number of a ſort eſteemed by the Mexicans above all others, which in colour reſembled emeralds, and many beautiful pictures, formed of variegated feathers. In ſhort, the whole ſeemed the ranſom of a great prince, who thought he could not purchaſe his liberty at too high a price; and the liberality of the nobles was ſuch as might be expected from wealthy chiefs, who vied with each other in loyalty and oſtentation. Cortes choſe a receiver and treaſurer, who were directed to take an exact account of what was received, and in a few days, excluſive of jewels and pieces of curious workmanſhip, they had amaſſed as much gold as when melted down, amounted to 600,000 peſoes in bars, out of which treaſure, one fifth part was ſet aſide for the king, and a fifth of the remainder for Cortes, and to defray the expence of providing neceſſaries for the army; another part was allotted to reimburſe Velaſquez, and Cortes's friends in the iſland of Cuba; and the remainder was divided among the officers and ſoldiers, including thoſe that were at Vera Cruz. All who were in the ſame poſts had equal ſhares, but among the private men thoſe were beſt rewarded who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves. This, however, produced loud complaints, which were ſoon ſilenced by Cortes's ſatisfying the malcontents out of his own ſhare.

Montezuma having thus acknowledged his ſubjection to Spain, ſent for Cortes, and with an air of greater dignity than uſual, told him, that as his buſineſs was now diſpatched, he ought to think of departing, ſince his ſtaying longer, would be

attributed to ſiniſter motives, nor could he longer afford him ſupport, when he had not reaſon on his ſide. This intimation, and the manner in which it was delivered, were ſo unexpected, that Cortes was ſome time before he could recollect himſelf, ſo as to make a proper reply. He now perceived the deſign of convoking the aſſembly, and ſuſpected that Montezuma hod privately aſſembled ſome forces to back this propoſal, and therefore ſent one of the Spaniards who was with him to order his ſoldiers to take to their arms, and in the mean time, excuſed his embaraſſment at ſeeing his majeſty more moved than uſual, aſſuring him that he was far from deſigning to delay his departure, that he came on purpoſe to deſire his permiſſion to build ſome veſſels to carry the Spaniards to their own country, as his majeſty well knew they had loſt their ſhips, in which they had ſailed to that coaſt.

It is ſaid that the emperor had provided 50,000 men to ſupport his determination ; but it is certain that he was very deſirous of avoiding a rupture with Cortes, and was even under ſome apprehenſions with reſpect to the anſwer he might receive ; but he no ſooner heard this artful reply, than he embraced him with ſingular marks of affection, and having now loſt his fears, told him with great complacency, that he did not intend to haſten his departure before he was provided for the voyage, and that he ſhould be ſpeedily furniſhed with every thing he wanted. He accordingly gave orders for aſſembling all the carpenters in the country to cut wood, and to work under the direction of the Spaniards. Cortes ſeemed in equal haſte to be gone, and diſpatched all his builders to Vera Cruz, in order to collect the remainder of the iron work, rigging, and ſails of the veſſels which had been ſunk, but at the ſame

time ſent private directions to Martin Lopez, his maſter-builder, to proceed ſlowly, and prolong the work as much as poſſible, without incurring the ſuſpicion of the Mexicans; his real deſign being to preſerve his footing at Mexico, till the return of his commiſſaries from Spain; for he expected that they would bring with them both a ſupply of troops, and directions for his future conduct.

He thus for the preſent quieted the minds of Montezuma and his ſubjects; but a very few days produced an extraordinary alteration in his affairs. The emperor received intelligence that eighteen ſhips had appeared upon the coaſt of Pilleca, and by the paintings for his majeſty's information, theſe ſhips ſeemed to be manned with Spaniards, a circumſtance which naturally alarmed the whole empire, and revived the ſuſpicions that had been entertained of Cortes, to whom Montezuma immediately communicated this intelligence, letting him know, at the ſame time, that it muſt now be unneceſſary for him to proceed in building ſhips, ſince he might embark in thoſe ſent from his own country.

Cortes examined the paintings, and was convinced of their being Spaniſh veſſels: but ſuppoſing that they were ſent to him from Spain with a ſupply of troops and ammunition, anſwered with great compoſure, that he would immediately embark if they were going to return to any of the king of Spain's dominions, but that it would be imprudent to deſiſt from building, till he ſhould be informed of the particulars by a meſſenger from Zempoalla, whom he every moment expected. But a few days after this converſation, he received a letter from Gonzalo de Sandoval, by which he was informed, that this fleet contained

800 men, and was ſent by Diego Velaſquez to oppoſe him and his deſigns in Mexico. Cortes received this mortifying account, while he was in converſation with Montezuma, and was obliged to make uſe of all his prudence and reſolution to conceal the emotions he felt upon this occaſion, from the obſervation of that prince. He however ſucceeded in his endeavours, and retired in order to deliberate upon this unexpected event. But here it is neceſſary to menton the reception Cortes's commiſſaries found at the court of Spain, and the cauſes that induced Velaſquez to fit out ſuch a fleet againſt him, which will be the ſubject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER X.

The proceedings of the commiſſaries ſent by Cortes to the court of Spain, and the riſe of the ſecond expedition formed by Diego Velaſquez for the deſtruction of Cortes. The monks of St. Geronimo endeavour in vain to make Velaſquez abandon his project. The fleet ſails under the command of Pamphilio de Narvaez, arrives at Vera Cruz, but is oppoſed by the governor. Cortes endeavours to come to terms of accommodation with the other army, but without ſucceſs, and ſets out on his march againſt Narvaez.

IT has already been obſerved, that Cortes and the council of Vera Cruz, ſent Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero and Franciſco de Montejo, with letters to the king of Spain, together with the firſt tribute ſent from New Spain. Theſe gentlemen, contrary to the orders they had received, touched at the iſland of Cuba, in order

that Franciſco de Montejo might have the pleaſure of viſiting his family and relations who reſided near the Havannah, and at ſo great a diſtance from Velaſquez, that they flattered themſelves they ran no riſk, either from his vigilance or reſentment. This ſtep, however, brought them into great danger; for Diego Velaſquez ſuppoſing that Cortes would ſend ſome of his ſhips to St. Domingo, to ſolicit ſuccours of the religious governors, had placed ſpies upon the coaſt, who informing him of what had happened at Montejo's houſe, he immediately diſpatched two light veſſels well-manned, with orders to take the ſhip, and every perſon on board; and Montejo, in conſequence of the firſt notice he had received of this advice, had no ſooner embarked, than he was obliged to ſail through the gulph of Florida, which was hitherto unattempted, as the only means of eſcape.

This ſhip, however, had a very proſperous voyage; but arrived at Seville at a very unfortunate conjuncture: for the chaplain Benito Martin, who had been ſent by Velaſquez to ſolicit the commiſſion of king's lieutenant, had obtained his ſuit; ſent the commiſſion to Cuba, and was then waiting at Seville for a ſhip, in order to return thither himſelf. This man repreſented Cortes as a pirate, who had clandeſtinely ſailed with ſeveral veſſels which belonged to Velaſquez, and in conſequence of his complaint, the directors of trade, ordered the ſhip and cargo to be ſeized; but as a great favour, permitted the two captains, with the pilot ſent by Cortes, to apply to the king for redreſs. They accordingly ſet out for Barcelona, but there found that his majeſty was at Corunna, where he was preparing to paſs over into Flanders, in order to accept of the Imperial crown. They therefore ſet out for that city, and in their

way viſited Martin Cortes, who with equal pleaſure and ſurprize, heard of the glory and ſucceſs of his ſon, whoſe death he had long deplored, and perſuaded him to accompany them to the emperor, in hopes that his character and grey hairs would give a ſanction to their ſolicitations. They had the good fortune to overtake the court at Tordeſillas, juſt as Cortes's preſents arrived with the Indians of the New Conqueſt from Seville; for theſe being upon the emperor's own account, they durſt not detain them. His majeſty gave them a very gracious reception, and was extremely ſurprized at their account of this new diſcovered empire, and in ſeveral conferences with them, enquired minutely into every particular relating to the conqueſt. While the Indians and the preſents that were before him, gave as it were ſanction to all the wonderful things they related. But as he was then on his departure to Germany, he referred Cortes's letters and ſolicitations to Cardinal Adrian and the council, to which he had committed the management of affairs during his abſence, deſiring that they would find out ſome method of doing juſtice to Velaſquez's pretenſions, and at the ſame time to encourage Cortes. But the preſident of this council being Velaſquez's friend, repreſented Cortes as a rebel, upon whom they could have no dependance. Though they did not think proper to give him an immediate cauſe of diſcontent, they reſolved not to ſend him any part of the ſupplies he had earneſtly requeſted; and all that the deputies could obtain was a ſmall ſhare of what they had brought for their own ſubſiſtence; after which they for two whole years attended the court without the leaſt ſucceſs.

In the mean time Diego Velaſquez received his commiſſion of king's lieutenant, not only of Cuba, but of all the countries that ſhould be diſcovered

and conquered by his means, which, together with his being aſſured of the protection of the biſhop of Burgos, preſident of the Indies, enabled him to gratify his ambition and reſentment; whence he reſolved to puniſh Cortes as a rebel and deſerter, and to appropriate to himſelf the honour of conquering the Mexican empire. With theſe views he expended the greateſt part of his fortune in equipping a ſquadron, which conſiſted of 800 Spaniſh infantry, 80 horſe, 12 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of proviſions, arms and ammunition. The command of this ſquadron he beſtowed upon Pamphilio de Narvaez, a man of diſtinction and capacity; but vain, haughty, and opinionated; and to this perſon he gave the title of his lieutenant, with private inſtructions to apprehend Cortes, and ſend him over to Cuba in irons, together with his principal officers, in caſe they refuſed to abandon his intereſts. After which he was to take poſſeſſion, in the name of Velaſquez, of all the countries that had been conquered, as being within his juriſdiction.

While theſe preparations were making, the monks of St. Geronimo, who preſided over the royal audience of Domingo, and whoſe juriſdiction extended over the other iſlands, were informed of his deſigns, and foreſeeing the ill conſequences that might attend them, ſent Lucas Vaſquez de Ayllon to perſuade Diego to deſiſt from his enterprize, and in caſe his arguments failed, to command him, under great penalties, to deſiſt from undertaking what might impede Cortes's meaſures.

This miniſter arriving in the iſland of Cuba when the fleet was juſt ready to ſail, uſed all his elocution and influence to divert Velaſquez from his purpoſe, and among other arguments, repreſented the miſchief that might be done to the intereſt of Spain, ſhould the Indians be witneſs of a

civil war among their conquerors, and exhorted him to leave his complaint to the examination of the royal chamber, which would not fail of doing him juſtice ; but Velaſquez being deaf to all his remonſtrances, and elevated by the title he had acquired to the greateſt degree of pride and inſolence, De Ayllon cauſed his orders and proteſt to be notified by a ſcrivener, and then diſſembling his reſentment, deſired to be allowed to gratify his curioſity by accompanying the expedition. This requeſt was immediately granted, and De Ayllon embarked, in hopes of being able to act as mediator between Narvaez and Cortes, and thus prevent the ill conſequences that might ariſe from Valaſquez's reſentment. With the ſame view Andres de Duero, the ſecretary of Velaſquez, who had befriended Cortes in the beginning of his fortune, engaged in the expedition, and the ſquadron ſailing with a favourable wind, ſoon came to an anchor in the port of Ulua.

Narvaez on his arrival on the coaſt of Mexico, ſent ſome ſoldiers on ſhore for intelligence, who ſoon returned with two or three Spaniards whom they found ſtraggling about, and from theſe he received an account of every thing that had happened at Vera Cruz and Mexico. Narvaez, upon receiving this intelligence reſolved to endeavour to obtain the fortreſs of Vera Cruz by treaty, and therefore ſent a clergyman, named Juan Ruis de Guevara, with three ſoldiers and a public notary to Gonzalo de Sandoval, in order to perſuade him to give up Vera Cruz, and to join the army with his garriſon.

Gonzalo being informed by his centinels of their coming, was prepared for their reception; but could ſcarcely contain himſelf within the bounds of moderation when Guevara delivered his meſſage, and let him know that Narvaez was come

to ſend Cortes in chains to Cuba; he therefore anſwered with great warmth that he could not believe that Narvaez, whom he took to be a good ſubject, would attempt to interrupt Cortes in a conqueſt that would be of ſuch advantage to Spain; but would rather join him with all his forces, in order to bring ſuch a noble ſcheme to perfection. However if he was really reſolved to offer violence to Cortes, he might be aſſured that the garriſon of Vera Cruz would make all the oppoſition in their power. The prieſt being very paſſionate, was ſo provoked at this unexpected repulſe, that he threatened Cortes, and all his adherents, whom he upbraided as felons and traitors, and then ordered the notary to do his office in publiſhing that all the Spaniards in Vera Cruz ſhould obey Narvaez on pain of death.

Sandoval attempted to perſuade this indiſcreet eccleſiaſtic, that ſuch violence was equally unjuſt and indecent in a perſon of his profeſſion; but finding that all his arguments were vain, he at length aſſumed a peremptory air, and told the notary, that ſhould he preſume to publiſh any orders that did not come from the king, he would give directions for his being hanged immediately. He even cauſed the prieſt and his attendants to be apprehended, and ſent to inform Cortes of the ſteps he had taken. He then ſummoned his Indian allies to aſſiſt him, in caſe he ſhould be attacked; put his fortreſs in the beſt order poſſible, and, like an able and vigilant commander, made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſuſtaining a ſiege.

Cortes was under the greateſt anxiety on his being informed of theſe tranſactions, he being very ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation he was in, with reſpect to the Mexicans and to Narvaez, who were equally his enemies; and yet in the preſence of Montezuma he wore an air of tranquility, tell-

ing him that thoſe who had newly arrived, were come with a ſecond embaſſy to ſupport the propoſitions he had already made, and, according to the cuſtom of his country, had brought an army along with them; but that he would prevail upon them to return, and as his majeſty's generoſity had left nothing for him or them to deſire, he would go along with them.

Cortes's uneaſineſs was however very far from rendering him inactive, he reſolved, if poſſible, to bring about a reconciliation with Narvaez; but leſt that ſhould not ſucceed, prepared with the greateſt diligence for war. He gave private inſtructions to three or four of his ſoldiers who were permitted to viſit the mines of Chinantla, to perſuade the Caciques of that country, to levy 2000 ſoldiers for his ſervice, for they were a warlike people, and had already privately offered him their friendſhip. He at the ſame time purchaſed of them 300 lances, made of a very tough wood, armed with points of tempered copper, and diſtributed them among his ſoldiers, bayonets being not then invented, to preſerve them from Narvaez's horſe, which gave him great apprehenſions.

While Cortes was taking theſe prudent ſteps, Pedro de Solis arrived from Vera Cruz with the priſoners ſent by Gonzalo de Sandoval, who had been carried in chairs on the ſhoulders of the Indians. When Cortes, being informed of their coming, went out to receive them with a greater number of attendants than ordinary. He inſtantly cauſed their fetters to be taken off, embraced them with great appearance of cordiality, and was particularly civil to father Guevara, telling him, that he would chaſtiſe Gonzalo de Sandoval, for his ſhewing ſo little regard to his perſon and character. He then conducted him to his own apartment, complimented him with a place at his table, and

more than once intimated that he felt the greateſt ſatisfaction at the arrival of Narvaez, with whom he had formerly lived in the moſt intimate friendſhip. He took him to Montezuma, and made him a witneſs of the favours he received from that great emperor, and of the profound reſpect with which he was treated by the Mexican princes, and greatly allayed the violence of his temper, by making him a preſent of ſome valuable jewels. His companions alſo had a ſhare in his bounty, and then without dropping the leaſt hint of his being deſirous of their employing their good offices with Narvaez towards an accommodation, he in four days after their arrival ſuffered them to return, when warmly engaged in his intereſt.

Cortes, after having diſmiſſed them in this courteous manner, allowed ſome time for his wiſe and politic behaviour to produce the deſired effect, and then ſent friar Bartholomew de Olmedo with letters for Narvaez, de Ayllon, and the ſecretary Andres de Duero, and at the ſame time furniſhed him with a ſtock of jewels, with orders to diſtribute them according to his own ſagacity and penetration. In his letter to Narvaez he welcomed him to the Mexican coaſt, gave him an account of the conqueſt; deſcribing the warlike genius of the Indians with the power and grandeur of Montezuma; expatiated on the ill conſequences that would infallibly attend a miſunderſtanding among the Spaniards; reminded him of his duty to the king; and the friendſhip which had formerly ſubſiſted between them; deſired to know his orders, which if they were from his majeſty, he promiſed to obey, even though he was commanded to deſiſt from the enterpriſe in which he had ſo far ſucceeded, and intimated the miſchief that would be produced with reſpect to the king's intereſt, if he only intended to proſecute the unjuſt reſentment

of Velaſquez, whom he not only reſolved to indemnify for the expence in equipping the ſhips with which he had arrived, but alſo to give a ſhare in the glory and advantage of his ſucceſs, and concluded with telling Narvaez, that he did not uſe arguments for want of ſtrength, and that he knew how to maintain his own rights.

Narvaez had fixed his quarters at Zempoalla, where he was received with great hoſpitality by the fat Cacique, who at firſt imagined that he was come in order to aſſiſt his friend Cortes; but he was ſoon undeceived; for though Narvaez had no interpreters, his actions ſpoke but too plainly. He treated the Zempoallans in the moſt oppreſſive and imperious manner, ſeized the furniture and jewels which Cortes had left in his own houſe, and his ſoldiers were ſuffered to commit every act of rapine and violence.

Guevara, on his return from Mexico, waited upon him, expatiated on the magnificence of that city, the kind reception he had met with from Cortes, the aſtoniſhing degree of favour he was in with Montezuma, and his great deſire to live in friendſhip with Narvaez, when that imperious officer interrupting him, bid him return to Cortes, by whoſe artifices he had been cajoled, and then, with the moſt ſhocking marks of rudeneſs and diſreſpect, thruſt him from his preſence. But though the prieſt was repulſed by Narvaez, he and his companions made a great impreſſion on the minds of the ſoldiers, to whom they extolled Cortes in ſuch a manner, as not only made them deſire an accommodation with that general; but inſpired them with a diſlike to their own commander.

Olmedo ſoon followed Guevara, and delivered Cortes's letter to Narvaez; but could ſcarce prevail upon him to peruſe the contents, which he however ſuperficially ſkimmed over, out of com-

pliment to the function of the bearer. It was in vain that the friar made a very eloquent and pathetic ſpeech, on the neceſſity of their acting in concert, in order to promote the advantage of Spain, and the fatal effects that would attend their animoſity; Narvaez replied with indecent heat, that the principal deſign of his coming was to chaſtiſe Cortes as a rebellious ſubject; that he would inſtantly ſet a price upon his head, and proclaim all his adherents traitors, and that he had force ſufficient to wreſt the conqueſt from his hands, without having the leaſt occaſion to conſult the accomplices and abettors of his rebellion. The friar, however, ſtill preſerved his temper, and let him know, that before he arrived at Mexico, he would be obliged to fight his way through intire provinces of warlike Indians, who were the friends and confederates of Cortes. That his Spaniards were reſolved to die by his ſide, and that his cauſe would be ſupported by Montezuma, a prince who had ſuch power, that for every ſingle ſoldier Narvaez had under his command, he was able to raiſe a numerous army.

Olmedo having taken his leave, viſited de Ayllon, and the ſecretary Andres de Duero, who promiſed to exert all their power and influence in producing an accommodation. He then mingled with the captains and ſoldiers of his acquaintance, explained the nature of his embaſſy, repreſented the neceſſity of reconciling the two commanders, diſtributed the jewels and other curioſities he brought with him with great judgment, and in ſhort would ſoon have formed a ſtrong party in favour of Cortes, had not Narvaez, who had been informed of his proceedings, ordered him to be brought before him, reviled him as being a mutinous and ſeditious traitor, and obliged him to depart immediately from Zempoalla.

The licenciate Lucas Vaſquez de Ayllon at this inſtant entered the room, and propoſed that before de Olmedo was diſmiſſed, the officers ſhould be aſſembled, in order to deliberate upon a proper anſwer to be ſent to Cortes. But this propoſal was rejected by Narvaez with great indignation; and, in order to prevent any farther diſpute he ordered war to be declared againſt Cortes, as a rebel and traitor, aſſigned a conſiderable reward to any who ſhould take him dead or alive, and commanded the army to prepare for a march. De Ayllon, exaſperated at this inſtance of violence and irregularity, ordered the crier to deſiſt, and commanded Narvaez not to ſtir a foot from Zempoalla on pain of death, or to employ the forces without the unanimous conſent of the whole army. Upon which Narvaez ordered him to be apprehended, ſent on board a veſſel, and inſtantly tranſported to Cuba. At the ſame time de Olmedo ſet out on his return to Mexico, while the principal officers in Narvaez's army were ſhocked at his inſolence, and the inferior ſoldiers loudly murmured at his conduct.

De Olmedo, on his arrival at Mexico, informed Cortes of the implacability and intemperate behaviour of Narvaez; but encouraged him by mentioning the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, upon which he immediately reſolved to take advantage of this favourable circumſtance, and the Spaniards at Mexico were no ſooner informed of his having taken this reſolution, than they expreſſed the utmoſt zeal and impatience to be in action; for, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, they had ſuch confidence in the valour, ability, and diſcretion of their general, that they thought it almoſt impoſſible for them not to conquer, when under his command.

Cortes was unwilling to damp their alacrity by any unneceſſary delay, and therefore repaired to Montezuma's apartment, to acquaint him with his intended march; but was not a little ſurpriſed at hearing that prince begin the diſcourſe, and at his ſaying, he had from different parts receceived information, that the Spaniſh general at Zempoalla was come with very ill deſigns againſt him and his followers, and though he did not wonder that the two chiefs ſhould be at enmity, from ſome private animoſity, he could not help thinking, that as they were the vaſſals of the ſame prince, and headed armies of different factions, one of them muſt neceſſarily be a rebel to his ſovereign. Cortes was ſomewhat ſtartled at this declaration; but immediately availed himſelf of that preſence of mind which never forſook him in his greateſt emergencies, and replied without heſitation, that the accounts received by his majeſty were undoubtedly true, and he was come to lay the ſame intelligence before him; but that Narvaez was not to be conſidered as a rebel, but rather as perſon who proceeded upon wrong principles through miſtake, for he was come as lieutenant or ſubſtitute from a miſinformed governor, who reſided in a remote province, and was therefore unacquainted with the laſt reſolutions of the court of Spain, and really imagined that the embaſſy to the emperor of Mexico was an affair that belonged to his office; but that all this miſunderſtanding would vaniſh as ſoon as he ſhould lay his diſpatches before that lieutenant. He had therefore reſolved immediately to march with part of his forces to Zempoalla, in order to diſpoſe them to return on board their ſhips, and that he ſhould ſoon convince them, that they ought to reſpect the ſubjects of the Mexican empire, as a people under the king of Spain's protection.

Montezuma was much pleaſed with the proſpect of getting red of ſuch troubleſome viſitors, of whoſe exactions and acts of oppreſſion he was particularly informed; but imagining that Cortes might be expoſed to ſome danger, by attempting to bring them to reaſon, he offered to furniſh him with an army that ſhould entirely be under his command, and repeated this offer with ſuch earneſtneſs, that Cortes was fully convinced of his ſincerity, though he declined accepting it, with many expreſſions of acknowledgment, from his having but little confidence in the attachment of the Mexican ſoldiers to his intereſt.

Cortes reſolved upon leaving fourſcore Spaniards in Mexico, under the command of Pedro de Alverado, an excellent officer, who by his engaging behaviour, had already acquired great ſhare of Montezuma's friendſhip. Cortes gave him directions relating to his conduct, with reſpect to the emperor, and the ſoldiers were ordered to obey their captain, and ſerve Montezuma with the greateſt reſpect. Theſe precautions being taken, Cortes diſpatched a meſſenger to Gonzalo Sandoval, with orders to entruſt the confederate Indians with the fortreſs of Vera Cruz, and to march out with the Spaniards to meet him at a certain place of rendezvous. He then having taken care to obtain the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſions on the road, and procured a body of Indians to carry the baggage, ſet out on his march.

CHAPTER XI.

Cortes, finding it impoſſible to bring Narvaez to accept of any terms of accommodation, attacks him and his army, obtains a complete victory, and prevails upon the ſoldiers to enter into his ſervice.

THE Spaniards marched with the cheerfulneſs and circumſpection of veterans, inured to the hardſhips and dangers of war. They took the road to Cholula, at which city they met with an hoſpitable reception, and proceeding towards Tlaſcala, found, at half a league's diſtance from the city, a ſplendid appearance of the nobility, and the whole ſenate, who received their viſit with great demonſtrations of joy and reſpect. After ſtaying there a ſhort time, they marched to Matalequita, a town of Indian friends, where they were joined by Gonzalo de Sandoval and his troops, with ſeven ſoldiers from Narvaez's army, by whom he was informed of every thing that had paſſed in the enemy's quarters before they deſerted. He had alſo intelligence of a later date from two ſoldiers, who had gone from Vera Cruz to Zempoalla in the guiſe of Indians carrying baſkets of fruit, which they exchanged with the Spaniards for glaſs beads, and other toys, and ſo dextrouſly aſſumed the ſimplicity of the natives, that they were permitted to range, without the leaſt ſuſpicion, through every part of the quarters; they even ventured to repeat the viſit, and as a proof the careleſſneſs with which they kept the watch, took from the very parade a horſe belonging to a captain, who was one of Cortes moſt bitter enemies.

In order to gain time till the arrival of the Indians from Chinantla, Cortes ſent de Olmedo a ſecond time with propoſals for an accommodation; but he meeting with no ſucceſs, Juan Velaſquez de Leon was ſent to uſe his influence with Narvaez, from the hopes that his being related to Diego de Velaſquez would render his mediation the more acceptable. Narvaez had indeed written to this officer to exhort him to eſpouſe his kinſman's cauſe, and to offer him a very advantageous poſt in his army; but this letter Juan had delivered to Cortes, with proteſtations that he would die by his ſide, rather than deſert his colours, and his behaviour upon this occaſion was an additional motive for ſending him upon this negociation.

On his approaching Zempoalla, Narvaez came with a grand retinue to meet him, ſuppoſing that he was come to join him; but had ſoon the mortification to find himſelf miſtaken. He however uſed many arguments to detach him from Cortes, and to render him an eye witneſs of his ſuperior ſtrength, commanded the whole army to be reviewed before him. The next day he invited him to dinner, together with thoſe of his own officers, on whom he placed the greateſt confidence, that they might aſſiſt in perſuading him to join their party. In the beginning of the converſation, he was treated with great civility and reſpect, but in the midſt of their feſtivity ſome ſarcaſtic reflections were thrown out againſt Cortes, and though Juan de Velaſquez, to avoid prejudicing the buſineſs in which he was employed, diſſembled his reſentment, yet the abuſe thrown upon Cortes became ſo groſs and indecent, that Velaſquez being unable to reſtrain his indignation, cried with ſome warmth, that if any man in that company, who did not eſteem Hernando Cortes and all his followers, as loyal ſubjects to the king of Spain,

would let him know his ſentiments before fewer witneſſes, he would undeceive him in what manner ſoever he pleaſed. Narvaez was diſconcerted with this declaration; but a young officer of the name and family of Velaſquez replied, that no man was worthy of bearing that name, who attempted to vindicate a traitor. At this reproach Juan gave him the lie, and drew his ſword, in order to puniſh him for his inſolence, when the company interpoſed, but found it very difficult to prevent miſchief. However, Velaſquez was at length prevailed upon to ſheath his ſword, when abruptly leaving the company, he immediately returned to Cortes breathing defiance and revenge.

This incident occaſioned ſuch murmurs among the officers and ſoldiers, that Narvaez, in order to put a ſtop to their clamours, was obliged to ſend a perſon to Cortes, to apologiſe for what had happened to Juan de Velaſquez, and to learn the ſubſtance of his commiſſion, which he had not fully explained. For this purpoſe he ſent the ſecretary Andres de Duero, who met Cortes on his march to an advantageous poſt, which he intended to occupy till the arrival of the Chinantlans. Duero and Cortes embraced each other like intimate friends, who had met after a long ſeparation, and all the officers received the ſtranger with joy and reſpect. But before they proceeded to buſineſs, Cortes made him a preſent of ſome valuable jewels. He was entertained with great magnificence and hoſpitality, and ſtaid till the next day, to conſult about meaſures for preventing a rupture, which he was ſenſible would be highly prejudicial to the intereſt of Spain. Cortes, upon this occaſion, ſhewed the greateſt moderation, and even propoſed to relinquiſh the Mexican conqueſt to his competitor, while he and his followers ſhould engage in ſome other expedition. Andres de Duero

being ſtruck with this inſtance of his modeſty, and ſelf-denial, propoſed an interview with Narvaez, to which Cortes immediately agreeing, the ſecretary then returned to Zempoalla, where he alſo obtained the conſent of Narvaez. But after the time and place were appointed, where they were to meet with only ten friends on each ſide, Cortes received private advice from Duero, that Narvaez had reſolved to lay an ambuſcade for his life, which being confirmed by others, he wrote to his treacherous enemy to let him know, that he was acquainted with his deſigns, and to reproach him with his baſeneſs. Having thus given vent to his indignation, he continued his march, and took his ſtation within a league of Zempoalla, where his front was defended by a river, and his rear by the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz. Having poſted proper centinels, and detached a number of ſcouts, he quartered his people in ſome cottages, where they were ſheltered from the ſun, and allowed to take their repoſe.

Narvaez being informed of this diſpoſition, drew up his army, cauſed war to be declared at the head of his troops, with the offer of 2000 pieces of eight, to any perſon who ſhould bring him the head of Cortes, and alſo ſet a price upon the lives of Gonzalo de Sandoval and Juan Velaſquez de Leon. He then marched to an open field, at about a quarter of a league's diſtance, vainly hopeing that Cortes would leave his advantageous ſituation, to engage an enemy, who had three times as many men as himſelf.

In the evening the weather ſuddenly grew dark and cloudy, and ſuch a quantity of rain fell, that the ſoldiers were inſtantly wet to the ſkin, and their arms rendered uſeleſs, when they curſed the author of the expedition, and with loud clamours inſiſted upon returning to their quarters. With

this requeſt Narvaez was obliged to comply, and never imagining that Cortes would paſs the river in ſuch a night, retreated in great diſorder to Zempoalla; and intending to take the field again early in the morning, lodged his troops in the principal temple of the city, which was built upon an eminence, that had an aſcent of many ill-contrived ſteps, which rendered it very difficult of acceſs, on the top of which he planted artillery. He fixed his head-quarters in the middle tower, whither he retired with ſome officers and about 100 ſoldiers, on whom he placed the greateſt confidence: the reſt of the army was diſtributed in the other tower; ſome horſes were ſet to patrole in the neighbourhood of the town, and centinels placed in the avenues.

Meanwhile Andres de Duero ſent one of his men to apprize Cortes of their retreat, and the manner in which they were diſpoſed, merely with the view of his paſſing the night without any apprehenſions of being attacked in his quarters: but Cortes no ſooner received this information, than he reſolved to take advantage of this favourable opportunity. Notwithſtanding the continuance of the tempeſt, he aſſembled his people without delay, and they having paſſed the river with the water above their middle, he made a ſhort ſpeech, mentioning the manner in which the enemy were quartered, their careleſſneſs and ſecurity; the eaſe with which they might be attacked and routed in the dark, before they could have time to be drawn up in their defence; and then expatiated on the inſolence and treachery of Narvaez, and the juſtice of his own cauſe. His ſoldiers being thus fired with reſentment, called aloud to be led to the enemy.

Cortes inſtantly formed his troops into three ſmall battalions, the firſt of which was under the

command of Gonzalo de Sandoval: The ſecond was led by Chriſtoval de Oled, and Cortes in perſon took the command of the reſt. Gonzalo had orders to begin the attack by mounting the ſteps, and preventing all communication between the towers: Chriſtoval was to aſſault the tower in which Narvaez lodged, while Cortes with his men reſolved to ſupport both attacks as occaſion ſhould require. Orders were given that the drums ſhould beat and the trumpets ſound as ſoon as the action began, with a view of increaſing the terror and confuſion of the enemy, and the moſt profound ſilence being in the mean while recommended, they began their march at a very ſlow pace to prevent their being fatigued before the action began, and to allow the enemy time to be lulled in ſleep and ſecurity. But they had ſcarcely proceeded half a league when their ſcouts returned with a centinel, whom they had ſurprized, though his companion found means to eſcape among the buſhes. This accident occaſioned a ſhort conſultation among the officers, who unanimouſly thought, that if the ſoldier ſhould diſcover them he would take a circuit to the town to avoid danger, and therefore by haſtening their march they might probably reach Zempoalla as ſoon as he, and at leaſt ſhould have the advantage of attacking the enemy in the diſorder of their firſt waking. They therefore left their horſes, baggage and other incumbrances by the ſide of a little brook near the road, and puſhed forward with all poſſible haſte. But notwithſtanding this, the centinel winged by fear, had arrived a few minutes before them, crying aloud, The enemy is upon us; but being inſtantly carried before Narvaez, he ſlighted his intelligence, and thought it impoſſible that Cortes ſhould venture to march in ſuch a dark tempeſtuous night, or preſume to attack him with ſuch an handful of men.

A little after midnight Cortes reached Zempoalla without being diſcovered by the enemy's cavalry, and not only entered the town, but came in ſight of the temple without finding any guards, or being challenged by one centinel. This happened at the very inſtant when the ſoldier was telling Narvaez that Cortes was marching towards the place with his whole army: But though he was diſbelieved by that obſtinate commander, his ſoldiers had taken to their arms, and were in ſome degree prepared for their defence. Cortes ſoon perceiving that he was diſcovered, and had no time to loſe, began the attack, by ordering Gonzalo de Sandoval to mount the ſteps, when thoſe who were upon guard with the artillery, fired two or three pieces, and their report was inſtantly ſucceeded with the noiſe of the drums, trumpets, and the confuſed cries of the ſoldiers, who flew to the defence of the ſteps. The diſpute ſoon came to the pike and the ſword, and Sandoval was hard preſſed in his attempt to force his way in ſpite of the diſadvantages of the ground, and the ſuperiority of numbers; but De Oled ſoon came to his relief, and Cortes quitting the rear threw himſelf ſword in hand into the hotteſt of the engagement, with ſuch impetuoſity, that nothing could withſtand him, ſo that in a few moments the enemy gave way, and ſoon retreated in great diſorder, after having abandoned their artillery, ſome flying to their quarters, while others repaired to the gate of the principal tower, where the diſpute was renewed, and for ſome time continued with great obſtinacy.

Narvaez having put on his armour, exerted his utmoſt endeavours to rally his ſcattered troops, and with great reſolution ruſhed into the midſt of the battle, where his eye being thruſt out with a pike, he fell down crying, I am a dead man.

This completed the confuſion of his ſoldiers, ſome of whom abandoned him, while others ſtood as if they had been thunderſtruck, and others again fought with ſuch diſorder, that they were eaſily routed, and their general taken priſoner. An end was now put to the diſpute, for the enemy ſhut themſelves up in the towers, while the followers of Cortes, having nobody to oppoſe them, proclaimed their victory with loud acclamations, which ſerved to heighten the apprehenſions of the vanquiſhed, whoſe terror was likewiſe augmented by the ſight of numerous lights in the country, which though ſolely produced from a kind of glow-worms, they ridiculouſly imagined were an army of arquebuſiers with lighted matches, and their diſordered imagination made them ſuppoſe that theſe were the auxiliaries of Cortes marching to his aſſiſtance.

Cortes at length putting a ſtop to the ſhouts of the people, cauſed the artillery to be turned againſt the towers, and proclaimed a general pardon for thoſe who would ſurrender, with advantagous conditions to ſuch as would enter into his ſervice, and free liberty to thoſe who were deſirous of returning to Cuba. This ſtep being taken in the firſt tumult of their fear, was attended with great ſucceſs; for theſe terms were no ſooner propoſed at the three towers, than both officers and ſoldiers came in whole companies to ſurrender, when Cortes received them with the greateſt kindneſs, though he cauſed them to be divided, and put under a proper guard, till the light ſhould give him an opportunity of diſcovering who they were. He then went to viſit Narvaez. That gentleman having been committed to the care of Sandoval, had his wound already dreſſed, and he ſeeing him enter, cried out, Thank God, Captain Cortes, for your ſucceſs in making me your priſoner. Thanks be to God for all things, friend Narvaez, he re-

turned, but, vanity apart, I look upon this victory, and your impriſonment, among the leaſt conſiderable actions that have been performed in this country.

Cortes being now informed that one of the towers commanded by Salvatierra and Diego Valaſquez the younger, refuſed to ſurrender, he ordered two pieces of artillery to be planted againſt it; but the defendants called for quarters at the very firſt diſcharge, when Juan Velaſquez de Leon entered with a ſmall body, and ſeized Diego and Salvatierra, who were Cortes's inveterate enemies. Thus the victory was obtained with the loſs of four men, though the conquered had a captain, enſign, and 15 private men killed upon the ſpot.

At day-break the 2000 Chinantlans arrived, when Cortes was glad of letting his priſoners ſee, that he was not deſtitute of allies; while the vanquiſhed were filled with ſhame, perceiving the ſmall number of men by whom they had been entirely defeated, and curſed their careleſſneſs and the inſolence of Narvaez. Cortes having many friends among them, who deſired to be enliſted in his army, their example was ſoon followed by all the other priſoners, and not a ſingle man expreſſed the leaſt inclination to return to Cuba.

Thus Cortes, by his admirable conduct and bravery, found himſelf in a few hours, at the head of above one thouſand Spaniards; the only enemies he had to fear, were ſafe in his cuſtody; he had a fleet of eleven ſhips and ſeven brigantines at his diſpoſal, and he had the pleaſure of ſeeing the laſt effort of Diego de Velaſquez entirely fruſtrated. Narvaez's horſe never engaged in the action, but made their eſcape into the country, where being united into a troop of forty, they pretended to ſtand on their defence, but were ſoon brought to enliſt under Cortes.

At length the ſails, tackling, and rudders of all the veſſels were brought on ſhore, and laid up in Vera Cruz; the pilots and mariners were brought to Zempoalla, and the army was allowed to continue ſome days in quarters for refreſhment.

CHAPTER XII.

Cortes marches back to Mexico to the aſſiſtance of Alverado, againſt whom the Mexicans had taken up arms; where he finds the people in a violent ferment. His troops are ſeveral times attacked, and his offers of peace rejected. Montezuma harranguing the Mexicans, in order to perſuade them to lay down their arms, is mortally wounded, and dies, conjuring Cortes to revenge his fall.

WHILE Cortes continued in his quarters of refreſhment, he diſmiſſed the Chinantlans with preſents, and was viſited by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, and by the Caciques of the adjacent countries, who all came to congratulate him upon his ſucceſs: but, notwithſtanding his good fortune, he could not be eaſy when he reflected upon Alverado's ſituation, ſince he knew him to be encompaſſed with enemies, and at the mercy of a prince who might be perſuaded to ſacrifice him and his few troops for the advantage of the empire. He therefore reſolved to return to Mexico, and that neither Montezuma nor his people might be offended at his returning with ſuch a numerous body, he propoſed to divide his army, and employ the greateſt part of it in other conqueſts.

While Cortes was taking theſe meaſures, a letter from Alverado obliged him to alter his ſcheme. By this letter he was informed, that in ſpite of Montezuma, who had never once attempted to leave the quarters, the Mexicans had taken up arms, and repeated their attacks with ſuch reſolution, that unleſs he and his men were immediately ſuccoured, they muſt all inevitably periſh. And what was ſtill more extraordinary, the ſoldier who brought this letter, was accompanied by an ambaſſador from Montezuma, who preſſed the general to return as ſoon as poſſible, and aſſured him, that though his own life ſhould be at ſtake, he would never abandon Alverado.

Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortes and his officers unanimouſly agreed, that no time ſhould be loſt. Roderigo Rangel, a perſon of approved fidelity, was immediately appointed deputy governor of Vera Cruz; and a garriſon was left at Zempoalla, after which the army amounted to one thouſand foot, and one hundred horſe. Cortes having ſent an anſwer to Montezuma, and another to Alverado, with an account of his victory, and aſſurances of his coming to their aſſiſtance, began his march, the army taking different routes, in order to be the more eaſily ſupplied with proviſions. They rendezvouſed near Tlaſcala, at which city they were received with great joy and affection; the republic ſtimulated him againſt the Mexicans, and offered to aſſemble all their troops for his ſervice. He, however, declined the offer, and contented himſelf with taking a body of 2000 men.

Cortes paſſed the cauſeway without the leaſt oppoſition, notwithſtanding his perceiving many marks of the fury of the Mexicans. For his two brigantines were ſtaved to pieces; and half burnt. On his entering Mexico, the ſuburbs were aban-

doned; the bridges, by which the ſtreets had a communication with each other, were all broken down, and a profound ſilence reigned over the whole city. Theſe ſuſpicious ſymptoms made the general order the infantry to ſlacken their pace, while the cavalry marched before to reconnoitre: but the Spaniards who had been left in the city, ſoon diſcovering the army, raiſed a great ſhout, and removed his apprehenſions. Pedro de Alverado and his men received them at the gate of his quarters, in a tranſport of joy, and Montezuma himſelf went to the outer court to meet Cortes, whom he embraced with all the marks of a ſincere affection.

Cortes having taken proper meaſures for the ſecurity of his troops, retired with Alverado, to enquire into the cauſe of that ſedition among the Mexicans, which had put him in ſuch danger; when that officer informed him, that ſoon after his departure, the nobles had behaved with leſs reſpect than uſual; that from the information of a truſty ſpy, he learned that they held frequent aſſemblies in private, and that a conſpiracy was concerted againſt the Spaniards, in which it was agreed to aſſemble the inhabitants, under the pretence of celebrating annual dances called Mitates, when the nobles were to harangue the populace, and immediately proceed to the Spaniſh quarters, in order to extirpate the inſolent ſtrangers, who kept their emperor priſoner, and treated even their gods with contempt.

On the morning preceding the day appointed, ſome of the chief perſons in the ſedition, came to deſire Alverado's permiſſion to celebrate their feſtival. However, he was that very night informed that they were very buſy in concealing conſiderable quantities of arms in houſes near the temples; upon which he reſolved to anticipate the execution of their ſcheme, by attacking them before

they ſhould have time either to take arms, or to raiſe the populace. This ill-judged ſcheme he put in execution. He left the fort with 50 of his men, under the pretence of ſeeing the diverſion, and perceiving the Mexicans intoxicated with liquor, attacked and diſperſed them without oppoſition; many of them being killed and wounded in their flight: the Spaniards ſtripped them of their jewels and other ornaments; after which Alverado retired without even taking the neceſſary ſtep of acquainting the people with his motives for committing this action, whence it was naturally imputed to his avarice. The people incenſed at ſeeing the noblity ſlaughtered and pillaged before their eyes, now ran to arms, and raiſed a very formidable inſurrection. They had ſeveral times attacked the Spaniſh quarters, and being ſo ſucceſsful as to kill three or four Spaniards, their courage was raiſed to ſuch a height, that inſtead of dreading the reſentment of Cortes and his troops, now ſo greatly increaſed, they retired to another part of the town, leaving the entrance open, that by giving the Spaniards an opportunity of being united, they might ſurround and deſtroy them at once.

Cortes cenſured Alverado very ſeverely for his raſhneſs in leaving his quarters, when the city was in ſuch a commotion; blamed him for concealing from Montezuma the firſt intelligence he had received, and for retiring without having informed the populace of the cauſe of ſuch a violent aſſault; and made Alverado ſo ſenſible of his indiſcretion, that he deſired to be impriſoned, in order to facilitate the reduction of the enraged multitude.

The Mexicans made no attempt that night, but the ſame myſterious ſilence prevailing the next morning, Cortes ordered Diego de Ordaz to

march through the principal ſtreets at the head of four hundred Spaniſh and Tlaſcalan ſoldiers, and, if poſſible, to penetrate into their deſigns. But Diego had not proceeded far, when he obſerved a body of armed men, which had been detached on purpoſe to draw him farther from the quarters. He accordingly advanced a conſiderable way, in order to take ſome priſoners; but was all at once oppoſed by an innumerable multitude, who ran boldly up to his front, while another army which had been concealed in the croſs ſtreets attacked him in the rear. At the ſame time the terraces and windows on each ſide were crouded with armed men, who ſhowered upon them an infinite number of arrows, darts, and ſtones. Diego perceiving his retreat cut off, ſo as to prevent his informing Cortes of his danger, ordered his rear to face about, and part of his men to exert themſelves with their ſwords and pikes below, while his fire arms were uſed againſt thoſe above. The heat of the engagement was however but of a ſhort continuance, for notwithſtanding the fury with which the Mexicans advanced, their attacks were made in ſo tumultuous a manner, that they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and retired to a diſtance, where they could neither offend, nor be offended; and the windows and terraces, being at the ſame time cleared by the fire arms, Diego endeavoured to make his retreat, though he was obliged to cut his way ſword in hand. In this engagement he left ſeven ſoldiers dead upon the ſpot, and both himſelf and the greateſt part of his men were wounded.

This event rendered Cortes but too ſenſible that there was no room for negociation. He therefore reſolved to ſally out with the greateſt part of his forces, in order to oblige them to ſue for an accommodation. In the mean time, the Mexicans

looked upon Diego's retreat as a flight, and followed him with inconceiveable fury, till they were terrified and driven back by the artillery, from the Spaniſh quarters, which made a very dreadful ſlaughter. They however halted within ſight, and the ſtreets were ſoon filled again with armed men, whoſe drums and ſhells ſounding the ſignal for an aſſault, they advanced with prodigious impetuoſity. Their rear was compoſed of archers, who were deſigned to clear the walls, that the reſt of the army might approach, and ſuch ſhowers of arrows were diſcharged, that the Spaniards were ſoon obliged to employ a number of hands to remove them, to prevent their blocking up the way to the ramparts. While the archers were thus engaged, the reſt, notwithſtanding the dreadful havock made among them by the cannon and ſmall arms, advanced to the very gates, which they endeavoured to cut in pieces, with inſtruments edged with flint. Some leaped upon the ſhoulders of their companions, and others made ladders of their pikes and lances in order to ſcale the walls; one ſet of men where no ſooner wounded and fell, but their place was ſupplied by others, who, as if they had been ſtrangers to fear and compaſſion, trampled upon their friends and fought like wild beaſts made doubly furious by famine and revenge. They were, however, at laſt repulſed, when they retired for cover to the croſs ſtreets, where they ſtaid till the approach of night, and then raiſed another terrible alarm, by beginning a very different kind of fight, for by ſhooting fire arrows into the quarters, they produced a dreadful conflagration in ſeveral parts of the building, which forced the Spaniards to break down walls, to prevent the communication of the flames, and then to labour the greateſt part of the night in repairing the breaches they had made, in order

to put themſelves again into a poſture of defence.

The next morning the enemy appeared at a diſtance, and though afraid of advancing within cannon ſhot, challenged the Spaniards to come out to battle, with many injurious reproaches. Cortes, who had reſolved to make a ſally, took this opportunity to inflame the minds of his ſoldiers with a ſhort ſpeech, and finding them impatient of delay, divided his whole force into three battalions, two of which were directed to clear the croſs ſtreets, while he himſelf took the large ſtreet, where the greateſt body of the enemy was poſted. The Mexicans ſtood the firſt charge without giving ground, and even fought hand to hand with their clubs and two-handed ſwords which they wielded with incredible fury, nor could the fire-arms put a ſtop to the ſhowers of ſtones and javelins that were thrown from the windows and balconies, till fire was ſet to ſome of the houſes. The Mexicans however at laſt gave way; but as they retreated, broke down the bridges of the ſtreets, which obliged the Spaniards to fill up the canals before they could proſecute the victory. While Cortes was thus advancing, the two battalions charged the multitude that had poſſeſſion of the ſtreets on the ſides, and drove the enemy before them, till they entered a large ſquare, where the three diviſions joined, when the Mexicans betook themſelves to flight, with as much precipitation as they had before made their attack.

Cortes did not think proper to allow his troops to engage in the purſuit, but having loſt ten or twelve ſoldiers in the action, retired without oppoſition. The loſs of the enemy was ſo great, that the dead bodies lay in heaps, and the canals of the city were tinged with blood. Cortes allotted three days for the refreſhment of his troops, dur-

ing which he renewed his overtures of peace, by means of ſome Mexicans, who were in Montezuma's ſervice; but at the ſame time continued to obſerve the ſtricteſt vigilance and precaution, and among other ſtratagems contrived four wooden towers to run upon wheels, each of which was capable of containing 20 or 30 men, who might fight under cover, ſet houſes on fire, and deſtroy their barricadoes raiſed in the principal ſtreets. Having finiſhed theſe machines, he made a ſecond ſally with the principal part of the Spaniards, together with the whole body of the Tlaſcalans, who had fought with great bravery in the laſt engagement. He alſo took ſome pieces of artillery, the wooden towers, and a few led horſes, that were to be uſed occaſionally.

The Mexicans were now commanded by the principal nobles, who had greatly augmented the army, and waited for the Spaniards in profound ſilence; but the latter had no ſooner begun their march, than they were ſuddenly ſurpriſed with the hoarſe and diſagreeable ſound of their ſea-ſhells and drums, added to the ſhouts of an innumerable multitude, which advanced with unuſual regularity, and amazing reſolution, giving and receiving the firſt charges, without being diſordered. When they were forced to give way, they retired leiſurely, without turning their backs, and renewed the fight at every canal, or barricado, with ſuch obſtinacy, that they were not to be diſlodged without the artillery. They diſcharged their arrows and lances in a regular manner. Some ſwam about the canals ſearching for opportunities to wound the Spaniards with long pikes, while others caſt from the windows, balconies, and terraces, large ſtones and fragments of rocks provided for that purpoſe, by which the moving towers were ſoon ſhattered to pieces: and, in ſhort, the battle was

fought with ſuch method and alacrity, as plainly proved that it was conducted by a general in chief.

The engagement continued the greateſt part of the day, during which a great number of the Mexicans loſt their lives, and the city was much damaged by the burning of the houſes. The Spaniards and their confederates were repulſed with ſuch bravery, that they were obliged to diſpute the ground by inches, and night drawing on before Cortes had made much progreſs, he found it would be impoſſible to maintain the poſts he had gained, and therefore retired to his quarters with the loſs of 40 men, who were chiefly Tlaſcalans, and with 50 Spaniards much wounded, he himſelf having received a ſhot with an arrow in his left hand. He now began ſeriouſly to reflect, that notwithſtanding all the advantages he had gained over the Mexicans, his numbers in a ſeries of ſuch victories would be greatly diminiſhed, and that in caſe of a general revolt againſt Montezuma, they might eaſily ſtarve him in his quarters; nor was the emperor himſelf under leſs uneaſineſs. From the higheſt turret of the palace he had obſerved the battle, and could eaſily diſtinguiſh the Cacique of Iztapalapa, and other nobles who might aſpire to the empire. He dreaded the loſs of his crown, and being ſenſible that he could never reſtore his ſubjects to obedienc while the Spaniards remained in Mexico, he ſent for Cortes the next morning, told him his ſentiments, and intreated him to leave the city, that he might return to his own palace, reſume the reins of government, and quell the ſeditions of his people.

Cortes readily conſented to this propoſal, and reſolved to retire for the preſent, that he might have leiſure to concert a new plan, and be enabled to execute it with a better proſpect of ſucceſs: but his conference with the emperor was interrupted,

by his being told that the enemy was advancing with great fury to make a general attack upon the quarters. They ruſhed on with prodigious impetuoſity, and in ſpite of the havoc made among them by the artillery and ſmall arms, behaved with ſuch bravery, that ſome of them got over the walls, which obliged Cortes to form a body of reſerve in the principal court, whence he occaſionally ſent detachments to ſupport ſuch as were hard preſſed or fatigued with action.

While the aſſault was thus carrying on with amazing vigour, Montezuma propoſed to ſhew himſelf to the people from the wall, in order to command the populace to retire, and order the nobles to come unarmed into his preſence, that he might take proper meaſures to redreſs their grievances. This motion being approved by Cortes, the Emperor immediately adorned himſelf with the enſigns of royalty, the crown, the mantle, and the jewels worn on the moſt ſolemn occaſions, and then mounted the terrace, with the principal Mexicans who continued in his ſervice, one of whom advancing to the rails, called with a loud voice, that the great Montezuma had condeſcended to come forth, and redreſs their grievances. His name was no ſooner mentioned, than the outcries of the people ceaſed, and they ſtood ſilent and motionleſs, as if awed by ſomething ſupernatural, and when he appeared, the whole multitude humbled themſelves to the earth. He looked round him with a majeſtic air, and diſtinguiſhing the nobles in the crowd, deſired them ſeverally by name to approach, thanked them for the zeal and affection they had ſhewn in his ſervice, and repreſented to the people that they were actuated by a principle of miſtaken loyalty; that his reſiding among the Spaniards was not the effect of compulſion; that he was reſolved to diſmiſs them from

his court, and therefore defired his fubjects to lay down their arms.

This condefcenfion made fuch an impreffion upon the hearers, who had been ufed to obey him with fear and trembling, that many wept to fee the emperor fo humbled, and the reft hung down their heads, and ftood in filence and fufpenfe. But thefe favourable difpofitions were foon changed. Some of the emiffaries belonging to the Cacique, who hoped to fucceed Montezuma, upbraiding that Prince, with being a coward, a prifoner, and a flave, raifed a clamour among the people, and inftantly turned their compaffion into fuch a rage, that they curfed him, and uttered the moft opprobrious invectives. The motions he made with his hand and head were now difregarded; and his efforts to fpeak rendered ineffectual, by their repeated fhouts, until at length they let fly a fhower of arrows againft him. Two foldiers being near him, endeavoured to cover him with their bucklers; but in fpite of all their care, he was wounded in feveral places, and received a terrible blow with a ftone upon one of his temples, which brought him to the ground. Cortes having caufed him to be carried to his apartment, refolved to be revenged on the authors of this misfortune. But he then could find no enemy on whom he could wreak his revenge; for the emperor no fooner fell, than the Mexicans, ftruck with horror and conftternation, inftantly fled,

Montezuma had fcarcely recovered his fenfes, when he became frantic with rage; imprecated the moft dreadful curfes upon his rebellious fubjects, and refufed to liften to the remonftrances and confolations of Cortes, who in vain endeavoured to comfort him. He tore the bandages and plaifters from his wounds, and even attempted to put an end to his life, which made it neceffary to

reſtrain him by force, and then he abſolutely refuſed to take any manner of ſuſtenance. The wound in his head was very dangerous, and the agitation of his mind ſoon rendered it mortal. Cortes joined with Father Bartholomew de Olmedo in perſuading him to renounce his idolatry; but all their arguments were to no purpoſe, and he expired after having conjured the general to revenge his death.

Montezuma's unhappy fate filled Cortes with great concern. He had an affection for that prince, and all his hopes had centered in his voluntary ſubmiſſion to the king of Spain. He was now obliged to form a new plan, and to quit all the advantages he enjoyed by his influence at the court of Mexico. The firſt ſtep he took, was appointing ſix of Montezuma's principal attendants, ſome of whom were prieſts, to carry out his body to the rebels, with orders to tell the princes who headed them, that he had ſent them the corpſe of their late ſovereign, whom they themſelves had murdered, and who, before his death, had earneſtly conjured him to revenge his wrongs, and chaſtiſe them for their abominable rebellion. But as he imagined that the inſurrection was not approved by the nobles, he once more propoſed peace, and was ready to agree to any reaſonable conditions; but ſhould they neglect his propoſal, he would treat them as the worſt of rebels; and as his reſpect for Montezuma could no longer moderate his reſentment, he would lay waſte their city with fire and ſword.

The bearers of the corpſe were met at a ſmall diſtance from the quarters by a body of the inhabitants, who threw down their arms, and followed their deceaſed ſovereign with the moſt profound reverence and reſpect. The city was inſtantly filled with lamentations, and though another Em-

peror was already elected, they teſtified their repentance by the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of ſorrow, repeating the name of Montezuma, and running about the ſtreets in clamorous tumults until the next morning, when they conveyed the body to the mountain of Chapultepeque, where it was interred with great ſolemnity.

Thus fell the great Montezuma, the moſt powerful Emperor that had ever filled the Mexican throne. He had reigned ſeventeen years, was the eleventh in the number of Emperors, and the ſecond of that name. He left four ſons and three daughters: two of the former, who lived with their father in his confinement, were afterwards killed by the Mexicans in Cortes's retreat. The daughters afterwards embraced the Chriſtian religion, and were married to Spaniards; but the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his deſcendant's was one of Montezuma's ſons, who at his baptiſm took the name of Don Pedro de Montezuma, and received many favours from his moſt Catholic majeſty, who gave him conſiderable poſſeſſions in New Spain, with the title of Count of Montezuma, which his poſterity ſtill enjoy.

CHAPTER XIII.

The war carried on afreſh againſt Cortes, who eſcapes the moſt imminent dangers, and every where defeats the Indians. He retires from Mexico, with his army, by night; but is aſſaulted in his retreat, and loſes many men; however, he at length obtains a great victory over the united forces of Mexico, by ſeizing the Royal Standard.

THE Mexicans made no attempt upon the Spaniſh quarters while the emperor remained ill of his wounds, which Cortes attributed to their being filled with horror at the thoughts of the crime they had committed; but it was really owing to the nobility being wholly employed in the inauguration of Quilavaca, Cacique of Iztapalapa, whom they raiſed to the throne.

The Mexicans, inſtead of liſtening to the propoſal made by Montezuma's ſervants, renewed the war with greater vigour than ever; and on the morning that ſucceeded the late Emperor's funeral, all the ſtreets were, by break of day, filled with armed men. They had alſo put a ſtrong garriſon in the towers of the temple, which commanded part of the Spaniſh quarters. This important poſt, which was defended by 500 choſen men of the nobility, Cortes reſolved at all events to carry. He therefore drew the greateſt part of his ſtrength out of the quarters, and having formed ſeveral battalions ſufficient to cut of all communication between the towers and the Indians in the ſtreets, he ordered captain Eſcobar with a conſiderable detachment, to attack the temple, which was of difficult acceſs. That officer marched to the lower porch without oppoſition;

but ſuddenly the defendants from the upper porch diſcharged ſuch a ſhower of lances, arrows, large ſtones, and half-burnt beams of timber provided for that purpoſe, that the aſſailants were thrown into diſorder, and obliged to retreat in confuſion, after their having returned three times to the attack.

Meanwhile Cortes was at the head of a troop of horſe, buſily employed in ſupporting thoſe who moſt needed his aſſiſtance; but ſeeing Eſcobar defeated, he inſtantly quitted his horſe; cauſed a ſhield to be faſtened to his arm, on account of the wound in his hand, then flying to his aſſiſtance, advanced to the ſtairs with ſuch intrepidity as induced his followers to imitate his example. In an inſtant the action was renewed with ſurprizing obſtinacy. The brave defendants fought hand to hand like men reſolved rather to die than to ſurrender. The very prieſts fell fighting valiantly, exhorting the people to ſhew their courage in defence of their gods, and they all ſuffered themſelves to be cut in pieces to a man, before the Spaniards could get poſſeſſion of the poſt. In the heat of this engagement, two Mexicans who had devoted their lives to the ſervice of their country, ſeeing Cortes upon a tower, threw down their arms, ran up to him, and ſtooping down like ſupplicants, ſeized him, and endeavoured to throw him over the rails: but after ſtruggling with him for ſome time, he had the good fortune to diſengage himſelf; upon which they threw themſelves headlong from the tower, and their brains were daſhed out againſt the pavement.

Cortes then ſeized a conſiderable quantity of proviſions which he found in the temple, and ordered it to be conveyed to his quarters: which being done, he commanded the Tlaſcalans to ſet fire to ſeveral houſes, that the artillery might com-

mand the whole edifice. He then took a view of the engagement below, and perceiving the Spaniards clofely preffed in the principal ftreet which they defended with great difficulty, he immediately mounted his horfe, and hafted to their affiftance, ordering Efcobar to follow with his men, with all poffible expedition. In the mean time he attacked the multitude at the head of his cavalry, killing or wounding all who oppofed him, but rufhing too far before the reft of his troops, his retreat was cut off. Upon this he entered another ftreet, where he hoped to meet with lefs refiftance, and there he fell in among a body of Mexicans, who had taken Andres de Duero, and were conveying him alive to offer him as a facrifice to their gods. Cortes inftantly flew upon them with fuch fury, as threw the whole party into confufion, and Duero took this opportunity of drawing a dagger, which they had overlooked, when they attempted to difarm him, and inftantly freed himfelf by the death of thofe who held him; then recovering his horfe and lance, the two friends broke through all oppofition. The Mexicans now retired with great precipitation, and the general returned with his troops into the quarters, after they had made a dreadful havock among the enemy, and burnt a confiderable part of the city.

The next day the enemy defired a parley, which being granted by Cortes, feveral of the nobles approached the walls, and in the name of the new emperor, propofed, that the Spaniards fhould inftantly march down to the fea fide, and leave the country, upon which condition they promifed to put an end to all hoftilities; but obferved, that fhould he reject this propofal they muft all inevitably perifh; for as they were now convinced by experience, that the Spaniards were mortal, they were refolved to continue their attacks, and

though the death of every chriſtian ſhould coſt them 20,000 lives, they would have a number left ſufficient to rejoice at their ſucceſs.

To this Cortes replied, that the Spaniards did not pretend to be immortal, though they were ſo ſuperior to the Mexicans, that with his handful of men, he would deſtroy the whole empire; but being moved by the calamities, they, through their own obſtinacy, had ſuffered, he was reſolved to depart, and that he only waited till the neceſſary preparations could be made for his march, and other articles agreed upon for the reciprocal advantage of both parties. The nobles ſeemed pleaſed with this anſwer, though the overtures they had made were intended to anſwer a very different purpoſe. It had been agreed by the new emperor and his council, that inſtead of expoſing themſelves to ſuch terrible ſlaughter, as the people had always ſuffered from the artillery and other fire-arms, they ſhould diſtreſs the Spaniards by famine, and amuſe them with negociations, until they ſhould be weakened and diſpirited by hunger, when they might fall upon them to great advantage. They recollected that Montezuma's three ſons, and other perſons of diſtinction were priſoners in the Spaniſh quarters, but willingly ſacrificed them to the good of their country, except their chief prieſt, whom they reſolved, if poſſible, to deliver.

The deputies therefore returned the ſame evening with a propoſal, that ſome of the Mexican priſoners ſhould be ſent with inſtructions to the emperor, artfully hinting, that the moſt proper perſon would be a certain ancient prieſt, who being an intelligent perſon, would be able to remove whatever difficulties might be ſtarted. The general readily aſſented to the propoſal, and made the prieſt acquainted with his demands in relation

to the neceſſaries he ſhould want in his march, reſolving if he ſhould return, to explain himſelf with reſpect to their laying down their arms, and delivering hoſtages. But they had not the leaſt intention to ſend him back, or to come to an amicable agreement, which was very evident from the centinel's diſcovering that they were making trenches to defend the paſſage of the canals, in breaking down the bridges of the principal cauſeway, and cutting off all communication with the road leading to Tlaſcala. Cortes was greatly alarmed at this intelligence, and immediately ordered a portable bridge to be made ſtrong enough to bear the weight of the artillery, and ſo light as to be carried by forty ſoldiers.

Men were immediately employed in making this bridge, and at the ſame time Cortes aſſembled his captains, in order to conſult whether they ſhould retreat by day or by night; for he was reſolved to retire to Tlaſcala, and there to take meaſures for laying ſiege to the city of Mexico. The majority of the officers propoſed a retreat by night, on account of the ſuperſtition of the Mexicans, which made it unuſual for them to engage an enemy after ſun-ſet, and from the difficulty of attacking them in the canoes in the dark. This was, however, warmly oppoſed by Cortes, and others; but the queſtion being put to the vote, the majority declared for the firſt propoſal, to which Cortes aſſented, and it was reſolved to give the enemy as little time as poſſible to form obſtructions, by beginning their march that very night. The carpenters had no ſooner finiſhed the bridge, which was to be removed from one opening in the cauſeway to another, than Cortes ſent another Mexican in order to amuſe the enemy with farther propoſals of peace, while he made

the proper diſpoſitions for his retreat. His vanguard he ordered to conſiſt of 200 Spaniſh ſoldiers with the choiceſt of the Tlaſcalans, and twenty horſe. The rear-guard was to conſiſt of a ſtill larger number of horſe and foot; and the priſoners, the artillery, and the baggage, with the body of the army, were to be in the centre. This order being fixed, he cauſed the treaſure to be brought into his apartment, and taking one-fifth for the king, in what was moſt portable, he delivered it to the commiſſary with ſome wounded horſes for the carriage; but the remainder, which amounted to 700,000 pieces of eight, he propoſed to leave as a dangerous incumbrance; but finding the ſoldiers unwilling to loſe their ſhare, he gave them leave to take what they could conveniently carry, in conſequence of which ſome of the moſt avaritious, who were among thoſe who came with Narvaez, loaded themſelves ſo heavily, that they ſtaggered under their burdens.

Cortes having taken theſe previous ſteps, encouraged the ſoldiers by a ſhort ſpeech, and about midnight they began their march with the utmoſt ſilence and circumſpection, being favoured by the wetneſs of the weather, and the darkneſs of the night.

The bridge which was carried in the front was laid over the firſt canal before they met with the leaſt oppoſition; but the weight of the artillery and horſe jammed it ſo faſt, that they found it impracticable to remove it; and indeed they had not time to uſe much pains about it; for before the army had paſſed the firſt breach of the cauſeway, they were ſuddenly attacked on all ſides; for the enemy having obſerved their motions, had aſſembled their troops and canoes with ſuch expedition and ſilence, that the lake was covered on each ſide of the cauſeway.

The attack began with great regularity, before they were obſerved, and had the Mexicans continued to preſerve the ſame good order during the engagement, Cortes and his whole army muſt have periſhed. But they ſoon returned to their uſual way of charging in confuſion, by which means many of the canoes were daſhed to pieces againſt each other, and the Spaniards made a dreadful ſlaughter. They were attacked in front by a vaſt number, who being impatient till they came to action, had thrown themſelves into the lake, and clambered up the cauſeway in order to diſpute the paſſage; but they were ſo crouded, that they had not room to uſe their weapons, and the ſlaughter was, according to ſome, ſo great as to ſupply a ſufficient number of bodies to form a paſſage for the Spaniards in the lake: but other authors allege, that the enemy left the beam of the ſecond bridge, on which the ſoldiers paſſed over in files, leading their horſes through the water by the bridles.

Cortes on his reaching the ſhore ordered his men to be formed as faſt as they arrived, and then returning to the cauſeway, entered into the engagement, and animated the men by his preſence and example. He cauſed each ſide of the cauſeway to be lined with ſoldiers, who were to repel the enemy, while the reſt marched between them in the centre, and to facilitate their march, he ordered the artillery to be thrown into the water; but notwithſtanding all his vigilance, part of his rear-guard was cut to pieces, the bridge being deſtroyed by the Mexicans in the canoes, before theſe unhappy men could paſs it, and theſe conſiſted chiefly of thoſe who had ſo overloaded themſelves with treaſure, that they were incapable of exerting themſelves in their own defence.

The army having paſſed over the lake by break of day, halted near Tabuca, to give time to thoſe

who had eſcaped from the battle to join their friends; a precaution which ſaved the lives of ſeveral Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, who had ſwam aſhore, and concealed themſelves in ſome fields of maize until the morning. Theſe brought intelligence that the laſt diviſion of the rear-guard was intirely cut off, and the troops being reviewed, their loſs was found to amount to about 200 Spaniards, above 1000 Tlaſcalans, and 46 horſes, with all the Mexican priſoners, who, in the darkneſs and confuſion of the night were treated as enemies by their own countrymen. The Spaniards were much dejected at finding how greatly their number was diminiſhed; at the loſs of their artillery, and at the apprehenſion of being every moment again aſſaulted, while they were oppreſſed with fatigue. Their affliction was encreaſed by the loſs of ſome excellent officers, among whom was Juan Velaſquez de Leon, who brought up the rear, and was overpowered by numbers.

Had the Spaniards been now attacked, before they had time to refreſh themſelves, and recover their ſpirits after the fatigue of the battle, they would in all probability have been eaſily deſtroyed; but an event which they conſidered as extremely unfortunate, prolonged their lives, by giving them time for repoſe. It has already been obſerved that all the Mexican priſoners were killed in the engagement, and in the morning when the enemy went to ſtrip the dead, they found three of Montezuma's ſons, whom they had killed with their arrows. At this ſpectacle they were amazed and ſtupified, the troops were ſeized with conſternation, and the news of this event ſoon reached the new emperor; he ordered the bodies of theſe unhappy princes to be conveyed to the burying-place of their anceſtors, and all the inhabitants attending their funeral, afforded the Spaniards this ſeaſonable reſpite.

Mean while Cortes marched with great caution towards Tlaſcala, ſuſpecting that the enemy's delay proceeded from ſome deſign, which had been formed againſt him, and indeed the Spaniards had not proceeded far, before they obſerved ſeveral companies of armed men following the army at a diſtance. Theſe were ſome of the inhabitants of ſeveral cities whom the Mexicans had ordered to obſerve the motions of the Spaniards, and retard their march, until they themſelves had diſcharged their laſt duty to the ſons of Montezuma. At length the whole body of the Mexicans appeared, and joining the others, attacked the army with great impetuoſity. Cortes placed his fire-arms and croſs-bows in the front, and then ordered the horſe to advance and charge the Indians, which they did with great ſucceſs; but their enemies continually increaſing, the Spaniards were fatigued with killing them, and began to deſpair of their ever being able to rout ſuch a prodigious multitude, when Cortes, perceiving an edifice with turrets on the top of an eminence near the field of battle, reſolved to gain that poſt, which he effected, though with great difficulty. As this building was a temple that had a ſpacious court, encompaſſed by a wall and ſeveral towers, it was eaſily defended. The Spaniards here found ſhelter from the danger to which they had been expoſed, and on account of this ſignal relief, afterwards erected an hermitage on the ſpot, which is ſtill known by the name of Nueſtra Sennora de Los Remedios, or Our Lady of Relief.

The Mexicans approached near the walls, but having diſcharged a great number of arrows, retired towards Mexico; however, the Spaniards perceived from the tops of the towers that they halted in the plain, where they divided into ſeveral bodies. Cortes, having poſted his guards and

centinels, ordered fires to be made to burn the arrows that lay in heaps about the place. The men were refreſhed with ſome proviſions they found in the temple, and with what the Indians had ſaved with their baggage, and had their wounds dreſſed, the linen horſe-cloths ſerving for lint and bandages. Theſe neceſſary ſteps being performed, Cortes called a council of his officers, and propoſed, as this poſt could not be maintained for want of proviſions, and as they could not hope to make their retreat while ſurrounded by ſuch a multitude of the enemy, they ſhould ſeize this opportunity of continuing their march during the night, in order that they might be two or three leagues from the Mexicans the next morning. This propoſal being unanimouſly approved, ſome hours reſt were allotted for the refreſhment of the people, who were dreadfully fatigued, and moſt of them wounded, and at midnight they retired from the temple, leaving the fires burning in order to deceive the enemy. The van-guard, which was provided with guides, proceeded about half a league without interruption; but on their entering ſome hilly grounds, ſeveral ambuſcades were diſcovered, formed by the militia of the neighbouring towns; but theſe ſlight ſkirmiſhes did not obſtruct the march of the Spaniards, who having advanced two leagues, entered before day-break into another temple, upon an eminence, being induced to take up their reſidence there, from their fancying that they ſaw at a diſtance ſome detachments from the Mexican army; but the approaching light no ſooner diſcovered their miſtake, than they continued their march two leagues farther, to a village advantageouſly ſituated, which was deſerted by its inhabitants, and there they ſtaid two days, until the wounded were again able to travel. They now marched two days through a rocky and

barren country, at a diſtance from the great road, which they purpoſely avoided, being without ſhelter in the night; perpetually perſecuted by flying parties of Indians, and expoſed to the extremes of hunger and thirſt, which they endeavoured to aſſuage by means of the herbs and roots they diſcovered, until the death of one of the wounded horſes afforded relief to thoſe who were thought in the greateſt extremity. In the laſt of theſe marches, they reached a village, where the inhabitants provided every thing for their entertainment with an air of frankneſs and hoſpitality; which was no more than an ill-judged ſtratagem deſigned to lull the Spaniards into a careleſs ſecurity.

Early the next morning the army aſcended a mountain, on the other ſide of which was the valley of Otumba, when Marina obſerved that the Indians, who ſtill followed at a diſtance, ſhouted and frequently exclaimed, "Proceed, tyrants, you'll ſoon arrive at the place where you will all periſh." Cortes took all poſſible precaution to prevent being ſurprized; but on his reaching the top of the mountain, he found the paſſage of the troops effectually obſtructed by an immenſe multitude of armed men, who covered the extenſive plain of Otumba. Theſe were the Indians they encountered at the firſt temple, reinforced by vaſt numbers of people from Mexico, with the principle nobles at their head, who had ſeparated into ſeveral bodies, and marched by different roads with ſuch expedition as to get the ſtart of the Spaniards and unite in this ſpacious plain, where there was no danger of their being embarraſſed for want of room. The front of the army, which appeared, from the diverſity of the colours and ſtandards, to be of different nations, extended along the whole breadth of the valley, but the eye could not reach

the extremity of the rear. In the centre appeared the captain-general of the empire, borne in a ſumptuous chariot, upon men's ſhoulders, that he might the better judge of emergencies, and ſee his orders punctually obeyed. Near him was the royal ſtandard of Mexico, which was a net of maſſy gold, faſtened to a pike, crowned with a plume of variegated feathers, and this ſtandard was never brought into the field but upon the moſt extraordinary occaſions. Indeed this vaſt army, with the motions of their different weapons, and their feathers waving in the wind, formed an appearance that was at once beautiful and tremendous.

Cortes, having taken a view of this dreadful army, turned with alacrity to his ſoldiers, and told them that they muſt either conquer or die; but was immediately interrupted by his men, who called out, that he ſhould give the word and lead them to battle. He was unwilling to balk their ardour, and having ranged them in order, immediately advanced. The ſoldiers gave no ſtroke either with their lances or ſwords, but what was fatal. The horſe broke and trampled under foot thoſe dead bodies that endeavoured to flank or encloſe the army, and the Tlaſcalans ruſhed into the thickeſt part of the enemy. In the firſt effort the Spaniards gained ground; but the Mexicans fought with great obſtinacy, and no ſooner was one corps cut in pieces, than it was ſucceeded by another. The battle being continually renewed by freſh ſupplies of men; ſo that the Spaniards muſt at laſt have been ſpent with inceſſant labour and fatigue. Cortes, who fought on horſeback, ſuccoured thoſe who moſt needed his aſſiſtance, carrying death and terror wherever he came. While he was in this ſituation, and was reflecting that the ſtrength of his men muſt ſoon fail, he recollected that he had heard among the Mexicans,

that the whole ſucceſs of the battle depended upon the royal ſtandard, the loſing of which decided the fortune of the day. Upon which he inſtantly reſolved to make an extraordinary effort in order to obtain it, and commanded Sandoval Alverado de Olid, and Davilla, to follow and ſecure his rear, while he, with his troop of horſe, charged that part which appeared weakeſt and neareſt the centre. This troop trod down whole battalions, and ſoon cut their way to the place where the Imperial ſtandard was defended by a guard compoſed of the nobles; when Cortes ſpurring his horſe through the midſt of them, wounded the captain-general, and threw him from his chariot with the firſt ſtroke of his lance, and Juan de Salamanca, a private gentleman, leaped from his horſe, diſpatched the general, and ſeizing the ſtandard, gave it into the hands of Cortes.

The Mexicans no ſooner beheld the Imperial ſtandard in the power of the Spaniards, than they ſtruck all the reſt of their colours, and betook themſelves to a precipitate flight; while the victorious Spaniards made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, 20,000 Indians being ſaid to be killed in the battle and purſuit. On the ſide of the Spaniards ſome were wounded, of which number two or three died at Tlaſcala, and Cortes himſelf received a violent blow on the head with a ſtone, which battered his head-piece, and made a ſmall fracture in his ſkull. The ſpoils which Cortes divided among the ſoldiers, was very conſiderable: for the Mexicans, depending upon their number, which amounted to 200,000, came adorned with the beſt jewels as to a certain triumph.

CHAPTER XIV.

Cortes marches to the city of Tlaſcala, where the Spaniards meet with a joyful Reception. The Tlaſcalans receive an Embaſſy from the new Emperor of Mexico, to excite them to take Arms againſt the Spaniards, and Xicotencal privately eſpouſes their Cauſe; but is diſcovered. Cortes defeats the Tepeacans. Another Mexican Army attacks the Spaniards, and is entirely routed.

THE Spaniards now purſued their march, but not without ſome ſuſpicion of being again attacked, as ſeveral bodies of men were ſeen on the tops of the mountains, but they proceeded without moleſtation, and the next day they entered the confines of Tlaſcala, when the whole army expreſſed their joy by loud acclamations, and the Tlaſcalans kiſſed the earth. Here they reſted themſelves by a fine ſpring of freſh water, when Cortes obſerved to the people the great importance of preſerving the friendſhip of the Tlaſcalans, exhorting them to treat the inhabitants of the city with kindneſs and civility, and to avoid giving offence to the meaneſt citizen. At noon Cortes entered Gualipar, a conſiderable town, where he was received with great hoſpitality, and having quartered his troops there, he ſent two Tlaſcalans to the ſenate, with an account of his retreat and ſucceſs; but the meſſengers were ſcarcely diſmiſſed, when he was viſited by Magiſcatzen, Old Xicotencal, with his ſon, and others deputed by the ſenate to compliment him upon his return. They congratulated him upon his victory, teſtified the deepeſt concern for his wounds, lamented the

loſs of ſo many Spaniards, inveighed againſt the Mexicans, and offered to aſſiſt him in his revenge with all the forces of the republic and her allies. They propoſed his immediately proceeding to the city, where quarters were already provided for the Spaniards. But he choſe to remain in his preſent ſituation, until his people ſhould be refreſhed and entirely recovered from their fatigues, to which the Tlaſcalans the more readily aſſented, as this would give them time to prepare for his reception, and his entering the city in a ſolemn triumph.

The Spaniards were liberally ſupplied with neceſſaries at the expence of the public, during a ſtay of three days at Gualipar, when adorning themſelves with the plumes and jewels of the vanquiſhed Mexicans, they began their march for Tlaſcala, which they entered in July 1520. The ſenate in their richeſt robes came out with a numerous attendance to receive them; the fields were crowded with people; the air was filled with acclamations, and they were ſaluted at their entrance with the ſounds of flutes, drums and horns. The feſtival kept in honour of their triumph, continued ſome days, during which the Tlaſcalans celebrated the victory with all the diverſions practiſed in that part of the world. They contended in leaping, wreſtling, running, and ſhooting with arrows at a mark, and in the evenings were exhibited different kinds of rope-dancing, with a kind of maſquerade. Cortes was deeply moved with the affection they ſhewed on this occaſion: his officers behaved towards theſe faithful allies with the utmoſt cordiality, and the common ſoldiers generouſly ſhared with them the jewels and other ſpoils they had obtained from the Mexicans.

But in the midſt of this feſtival a damp was given to the public joy by Cortes's illneſs. The wound in his head broke out afreſh, he was ſeized

with a dangerous fever, and his friends began to deſpair of his life. The mirth of Tlaſcala was inſtantly changed into mourning, and both the nobles and peoble expreſſed their concern, by conſtantly enquiring after his health. But the ſenate employing the moſt expert phyſicians of the country, he ſpeedily recovered.

Cortes now immediately longed to know the ſtate of affairs at Vera Cruz, and therefore ſent a letter to the governor, by an Indian courier, who ſoon returned with an anſwer, that no alteration had yet happened in the garriſon or on the coaſt, and that Narvaez and Salvatierra were ſtill in ſafe cuſtody; but that a corporal and eight ſoldiers, who had been ſent to Tlaſcala for the gold belonging to the garriſon, were not returned; that it was reported among the Indians, that they were murdered in the province of Tepeaca, and that it was feared the wounded ſoldiers belonging to Narvez had met with the ſame fate; for being impatient to reach Mexico, which they conſidered as the centre of their wealth, they as faſt as they recovered, had marched away from Zempoalla for that city. Indeed the truth of this report was now confirmed by the Tlaſcalans, who had hitherto concealed it from Cortes, leſt it ſhould retard his recovery, and he had the mortification to find himſelf thus deprived of a reinforcement of near 50 Spaniards, who had been deſtroyed by the Indians of Tepeaca. Cortes therefore reſolved to be revenged on that nation, which lay between him and Vera Cruz, and the Tlaſcalans promiſed to intereſt themſelves in the quarrel.

At this time ambaſſadors from the new emperor of Mexico arrived at Gualipar, whence they ſent to deſire leave of the ſenate to enter the city, with propoſals of peace; and this being granted, with the conſent of Cortes they made their public entry

with great ſplendour and ſolemnity, preceded by the carriers who brought the preſents, which, as uſual, conſiſted of gold and ſilver, fine cotton cloths, plumes and other curioſities. The ambaſſadors richly adorned with jewels, and attended by a numerous retinue, were received in the ſenate-houſe, where they made offers of peace and perpetual alliance, on condition of their declaring war againſt the Spaniards, and aſſiſting them in their endeavours to extirpate thoſe inſolent ſtrangers. Their ſpeech was interrupted by the murmurs of the aſſembly, who were exaſperated at the propoſal. However, they were permitted to retire to the lodgings aſſigned them, until the ſenate ſhould deliberate upon the ſubject of the embaſſy, when it was unanimouſly agreed to reject their propoſals. But the ambaſſadors did not wait for a formal diſmiſſion: for dreading leſt ſome popular inſurrection ſhould be formed againſt them, they fled with great precipitation.

Notwithſtanding the regard the Tlaſcalans upon this, and other occaſions, ſhewed for the Spaniards, Xicotencal ſtill hated and envied Cortes, and had hitherto diſguiſed theſe diſpoſitions under the maſk of friendſhip. Though he did not ſo much as ſpeak in the ſenate, in behalf of the Mexican propoſals, he took the opportunity of ſowing jealouſies among the people, by means of his friends, who privately magnified the advantages of an alliance with the Mexicans, and repreſented their friendſhip for the Spaniards, as a dangerous connexion, that would entail ſlavery and oppreſſion upon them and their poſterity. The ſenate was ſoon informed of theſe practices, and upon this occaſion held a conſultation, at which Xicotencal's father gave his opinion, that his ſon ſhould ſuffer death, as a ſower of ſedition; but out of reſpect to the grey hairs and character of the father, they were unwilling

to deprive him of life; they however ordered that he ſhould be brought before them in chains, when they reproached him for his perfidiouſneſs; deprived him of the honours he enjoyed, and cauſed him to be thrown down the ſtairs of the ſenate-houſe. A few days after this degradation, Xicotencal implored forgiveneſs of Cortes, who did not know of his crime till after the puniſhment was inflicted, and by his interpoſition in his behalf, he was reſtored to his former rank and honours.

Xicotencal now endeavoured to atone for his fault by his diligence in aſſembling the troops of the republic. Mean while the ſoldiers who came with Narvaez, being diſguſted at the fatigues and dangers they had undergone, and intimidated at the thoughts of a new war, loudly exclaimed againſt the expedition to Tepeaca, and even delivered a formal proteſtation to Cortes, ſignifying their refuſal to undertake that enterprize, and their deſire to march immediately for Vera Cruz, where they might be nearer at hand to ſolicit reinforcements form St. Domingo and Jamaica.

Cortes was greatly provoked at this inſolent remonſtrance; but thought proper to diſguiſe his reſentment, and to repreſent to them, that as the Tepeacans had ſeized the paſſes of the mountains, it was impoſſible for them to reach Vera Cruz without fighting them, in which he ſhould be aſſiſted by the Tlaſcalan troops, that were aſſembling for that purpoſe; but he aſſured them that as ſoon as thoſe Indians ſhould be ſubdued, they who were unwilling to follow his fortune, ſhould have free leave to depart.

Cortes, having thus reconciled his troops to the ſervice, marched with 8000 choice Tlaſcalans commanded by officers of diſtinguiſhed valour, and left the care of bringing up the reſt to Xicotencal. Hav-

ing proceeded three leagues they ſpent the night in a village abandoned by the enemy; and the next morning Cortes ordered ſome peaſants, who had been taken by the advanced guard, to be brought before him, gave them ſome preſents, and ſet them at liberty, on their promiſing to tell the Cacique of Tepeaca, in his name, that he was come to revenge the death of the Spaniards, whom they had treacherouſly murdered, yet if they would join him and his allies againſt the Mexicans, he would pardon what was paſſed, and conſider them as friends. With this meſſage the Indians departed, and returned the next day with an anſwer, in which all terms of peace were rejected, and the Spaniards threatened with being carried to the altars of their gods. The Tepeacans now took the field in order to ſtop their march, and formed an ambuſcade in ſome fields of maize, which might have turned to their advantage, had not their impatience occaſioned their being diſcovered by Cortes, when at a conſiderable diſtance. He however marched on as if he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion; but ſuddenly wheeling about, attacked them with great fury, and made a prodigious ſlaughter. The battle ſoon became general; but though the Tepeacans fought with great bravery, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and being deſerted by their Mexican allies, were totally routed, with the loſs of almoſt their whole army. They therefore the ſame night ſent deputies to implore the mercy of the conqueror.

The next day Cortes marched with his army, into the city, where the inhabitants threw themſelves at his feet with marks of extreme fear. But upon his ordering his interpreters to proclaim king Charles, and a general pardon in the name of that prince, their apprehenſions were converted into joy, and they intreated Cortes to take their

city into his protection, that they might never more be influenced by the Mexicans to renounce their treaty with the Spaniards. Cortes inſtantly took advantage of this requeſt, fortified the city with palliſadoes and a trench, and built a kind of citadel to keep them in obedience, and ſecure the paſſage to Vera Cruz. But before this work was begun, he ſent all the priſoners who had been taken in the battle to Tlaſcala, where, by his direction they were publicly ſold for ſlaves.

Some time after Xicotencal arrived with 35,000 more troops, when Cortes, in order to keep them employed, ſent different detachments, under the conduct of Spaniſh officers, to reduce ſome parts of the province of Tepeaca, from whence they returned victorious after they had enriched themſelves with a conſiderable booty, and a great number of captives, who were alſo ſold for ſlaves.

Quetlavaca, emperor of Mexico, dying about this time, the electors conferred the Imperial dignity upon Quatimozin, ſon-in-law to Montezuma, a young prince of great ſagacity, who immediately encouraged the ſoldiers with rewards and conſiderable privileges; treated his nobles with affability, and exempted his ſubjects from all tribute, during the continuance of the war; made preſents to the Caciques on his frontiers, in order to confirm him in their fidelity, and ſent an army of 30,000 men for their ſupport.

Cortes received an account of theſe tranſactions from ſome deputies from the Cacique of Guacachula, a populous and warlike city, ſituated in the road to Mexico, who came to complain of the tyranny of the Mexicans, and to implore the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards againſt them. As Cortes made no doubt of this Cacique's ſincerity, and thought it highly neceſſary to expel the enemy from ſuch an important place, he immediately

formed a body of 30,000 Tlaſcalans, with 300 Spaniards, and 13 horſe, and the next morning ſent this army with the envoys of Guacachula, under the command of Chriſtoval de Olid, who was directed to repulſe the enemy, and take poſſeſſion of the town. They proceeded very cheerfully for ſix leagues, when being about that diſtance from Guacachula, they were told by the peaſants, that the emperor of Mexico was marching againſt them with all his forces, and this report made ſuch an impreſſion upon Narvaez's ſoldiers, that they poſitively refuſed to proceed, and De Olid found it very difficult to prevail on them to break this reſolution. This diſpute was ſcarcely ended when ſeveral bodies of armed men were ſeen advancing towards them from the mountains with great expedition. Upon which De Olid inſtantly drew up his people in order of battle. However ſome horſe, which he had ſent out for intelligence, ſoon informed him that theſe Indians were commanded by the Cacique of Guazocingo, and ſome of his neighbours, whoſe dominions had been ravaged by the Mexicans, and who were coming to aſſiſt the Spaniards. The Tlaſcalans however ſuſpected their motives, and perſuaded the Spaniards that they were not to be truſted, as they were probably ſent by the Mexicans in order to fall upon the Spaniards during the engagement. This opinion had ſuch an effect upon De Olid, that he immediately cauſed the Caciques to be ſeized, and ſent in irons to Cortes, who continued at Tepeaca. This inconſiderate action, however, produced no ill conſequence, for as the Indians really came with a deſign to aſſiſt Cortes, they reſolved to wait patiently for his determination, which they hoped would do juſtice to their ſincerity, and indeed they were not diſappointed. Cortes appeared equally diſpleaſed and concerned to ſee the Caciques in

chains, and inſtantly ordered their fetters to be knocked off, received them in the moſt friendly manner, and made an apology for the raſhneſs of his captain, whom he promiſed to reprimand, and then ſet out with them in perſon to take the command of the troops.

Cortes no ſooner arrived at the camp, than every thing like mutiny diſappeared; he blamed De Olid for his inconſiderate behaviour, and joining his new allies, marched directly to Guacachula. The Mexicans, being informed of his motions, advanced between him and the city, and began the battle with great fury, when the Caciques of Guacachula taking advantage of this opportunity, fell ſuddenly upon the rear of the Mexicans, who in a little more than half an hour were entirely defeated. The Spaniards then entered the city where they took up their quarters, while the Tlaſcalans and the other confederates, whoſe number was continually increaſing, ſtaid without the wall, and many other Caciques joining them, Cortes's army, ſoon after the battle amounted to 120,000 men.

Cortes now reſolved to reduce Yzucon, a town naturally of great ſtrength, fortified with walls and ravelins, defended in front by a river, and garriſoned with 10,000 Mexicans who had broke down the bridge in order to diſpute the paſſage. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, De Olid, who commanded the vanguard, attempted to croſs the river, and though his horſe was killed under him, and himſelf wounded in the thigh, he with his troops gained the oppoſite bank, and drove the enemy into the city, which they made a ſhew of defending; but the Spaniards had ſcarce received orders for the attack, when the cries of the enemy ſuddenly ceaſed; the garriſon diſappeared, and the city was forſaken by the inhabit-

ants; but ſome of the fugitives being brought back, were inſtantly diſcharged with the offer of a pardon and good treatment, to all who ſhould return to their houſes; and this had ſuch an effect, that the town was almoſt filled the ſame day. The ſpoil obtained in theſe two actions, Cortes diſtributed among his new allies, and then returned with the Tlaſcalans to Tepeaca, where the fort and ſettlement was now completed, to which he gave the name of Segura de la Frontera.

CHAPTER XV.

Several ſhips arrive upon the coaſt with recruits from Velaſquez, who all join Cortes. Deputies ſent to the Court of Spain to deſire more aſſiſtance. The Spaniards march towards Mexico. Cortes's expedition againſt Tezeuco, where he ſets up a new Cacique.

A Ship arrived about this time at St. Juan de Ulua, with thirteen Spaniſh ſoldiers, ſome proviſions and ammunition, and two horſes, ſent by Diego de Velaſquez to Narvaez; under the command of Pedro de Barba. Pedro de Cavallero, who commanded ſome troops on the coaſt, diſcovering this veſſel, put off from ſhore in a boat, and ſaluted the new-comers with great civility; when Pedro de Barba enquiring after Narvaez, he replied without heſitation, that he was well and in great proſperity; for all thoſe countries had ſubmitted to him, while Cortes, with a few of his followers, had fled to the mountains. De Barba, being deceived by this intelligence, landed with-

out diſtruſt, and was conducted to Vera Cruz, where finding himſelf outwitted, he readily embraced Cortes's intereſt, and received the command of a company of croſs-bows. After which Cortes gained the affections of the ſoldiers, by making them preſents, with which they were ſo pleaſed, that they readily enliſted in his ſervice. He then read the letter intended for Narvaez, in which Velaſquez promiſed to ſend him powerful ſuccours, and ordered him to tranſport Cortes to Cuba, that he might be carried as a criminal to Spain, where the Biſhop of Burgos intended to make a public example of him in the moſt ignominious manner.

Eight days after a ſecond ſhip arrived with eight ſoldiers more, and a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition, and the officer who commanded this veſſel, being alſo trepanned by Cavallero, and ſent to Segura, both he and his men alſo entered into the ſervice of Cortes.

As the general was reſolved to make a new attempt to conquer Mexico, he formed the ſcheme of building 12 or 13 brigantines, that ſhould be able to reſiſt the Indian canoes, in order to eſcape the danger of paſſing the cauſeways, and theſe he propoſed to carry in pieces on the ſhoulders of the Indian carriers, over the mountains of Tlaſcala, to a river in the neighbourhood of the lake. This ſingular project he communicated to Martin Lopez, who not only approved of the deſign, but undertook to execute it with the utmoſt facility, and was therefore immediately ſent to Tlaſcala, with all the Spaniſh carpenters, and a number of Indians to cut wood. He at the ſame time employed many hands in extracting pitch from trees that grew upon the mountains, and ſent others to the volcano diſcovered by Diego de Ordaz, from whence they brought a large quantity of ſulphur, which was

made into gun-powder. Theſe previous ſteps being taken, Cortes left inſtructions with the new council of Segura, and having appointed a commander of the garriſon, which conſiſted of about twenty Spaniſh ſoldiers, ſet out for Tlaſcala.

It has been already obſerved that Franciſco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had ſent to order Cortes not make any ſettlement upon this coaſt. But notwithſtanding the diſappointment he met with in having his meſſengers ſeized, he now reſumed the enterprize, and ſent three ſhips, but his ſoldiers had no ſooner landed, than they were attacked with ſuch fury by the Indians, that they were obliged to return to the ſhips in great diſorder. His ſhips were afterwards ſeparated for ſome days, when each of them ſeverally formed the ſame deſign, and without knowing the ſentiments of each other, arrived almoſt at the ſame inſtant on the coaſt of Vera Cruz, in order to ſerve under Cortes. The firſt ſhip that made land had ſixty Spaniſh ſoldiers on board, and was commanded by captain Carnago; the ſecond brought fifty men and ſeven horſes, under the command of a brave and experienced officer, named Miguel Diaz de Cruz; and the third brought about forty ſoldiers, ten horſes, and great plenty of arms and proviſions, and was commanded by captain Ramirez.

Theſe people took the road to Tlaſcala, and were received with great joy by the general and his people: but notwithſtanding this acquiſition of ſtrength, the ſoldiers brought by Narvaez were ſtill importunate for leave to return to the iſland of Cuba, and reminding Cortes of the promiſe he had made before they ſet out on the expedition to Tepeaca; he was now the more inclined to grant their requeſt for his having received this reinforcement of men, whom he imagined would be more obedient to his command. He therefore cauſed

proclamation to be made that all who defired to return ſhould be furniſhed with veſſels and all other neceſſaries. Upon which the greateſt part of thoſe who came with Narvaez, ſeized this opportunity of returning to Cuba, among whom was Andres de Duero, who had been Cortes's particular friend.

Cortes having directed Alverado to ſee theſe men embark, ſent orders to the confederates to get ready to march on the firſt notice, and in the mean time reſolved to equip a veſſel, and ſend other agents to Spain, in order to forward the negociations of Portocarrero and Montejo, and to deſire them to ſend him an account of his intereſt at court, about which he was very anxious. For this purpoſe he wrote a memorial to the king, which contained an account of all the incidents that had happened, from the time of his marching out of Zempoalla until his retreat to Tlaſcala, with an account of the wealth, power, and extent of the Mexican empire, and the alliances he had concluded with the Indian nations, as the moſt proper means to bring that vaſt and fertile country under the dominion of Spain. He deſired ſpeedy juſtice againſt the proceedings of Diego de Velaſquez, and Franciſco de Garay, ſolicited ſuccours of men, horſes, arms and ammunition; and beſought his majeſty to ſend ſome eccleſiaſtics of approved virtue, to aſſiſt father de Olmeda in the converſion of the Indians. The two councils of Vera Cruz and Segura alſo wrote to his majeſty on theſe ſubjects.

Cortes intruſted theſe diſpatches to the care of Diego de Ordaz and Alonzo de Mendoza, who a few days after embarked for Spain, after their having received private inſtructions to conceal their commiſſion till they ſhould find Cortes's father and the two agents, with whom they were to

act in conſort; and to give the greater weight to their joint ſolicitations, they carried a ſecond preſent for the emperor*, which conſiſted of gold and ſome curioſities. He at the ſame time diſpatched Alonzo Davila, and Franciſco Alvarez Chico with letters to the regulars of St. Jerome, who preſided in the royal audience of St. Domingo, and had juriſdiction over all the iſlands and new diſcoveries on the main land, intreating their ſpeedy aſſiſtance in promoting his ſucceſs, and the interpoſition of their authority in putting a ſtop to the proceedings of Velaſquez and Garay: and theſe fathers ſoon ſent him a favourable anſwer, in which they promiſed to ſupport the juſtice of his pretenſions to the king of Spain, and to check all the efforts of his rivals.

After a proſperous voyage, Ordas and Mendoza arrived at Seville, were they found the commiſſioners of trade had expreſs orders from the biſhop of Burgos to impriſon any one ſent from New Spain, and to ſeize the gold and other merchandiſe brought from thence. Therefore leaving the preſent for the emperor in the hands of thoſe judges, they thought themſelves happy in eſcaping with their letters and diſpatches, and went in ſearch of Martin Cortes, and the two agents, who had been before ſent from Mexico. Theſe perſons they found at Medellin, and being afterwards encouraged by Adriano, the cardinal regent, to whom they ſhewed Cortes's letters, entered a proſecution againſt the biſhop of Burgos in his own court, and obtained a verdict in their favour. This ſentence being laid before the emperor, who at this time was juſt returned from Germany, it was approved by his majeſty, and Hernando Cortes was declared a faith-

* Charles I. king of Spain, had ſome time before been raiſed to the Imperial throne, and was the fifth emperor of that name.

ful ſubject; perpetual ſilence was ordered to be impoſed on Velaſquez, with reſpect to any pretenſions to the conqueſt of New Spain, and he was only allowed to ſue for the money he had expended in fitting out Cortes's fleet; ſeveral marks of the royal favour were beſtowed on Martin Cortes, on account of his ſon's merit; ſome regulars were named for the converſion of the Indians, and a fleet was ordered to be ſpeedily fitted out, with a ſupply of men, ammunition, and horſes.

Cortes in the mean time received another unexpected ſupply of thirteen Spaniſh ſoldiers, who came in order to ſeek their fortunes, in a veſſel that arrived at Vera Cruz, laden with arms, gunpowder, and proviſions. He therefore reſolved to begin his march, and as the troops of his allies were already aſſembled, he did not chooſe to wait till the brigantines were finiſhed. It was agreed that their firſt attempt ſhould be made upon Tezeuco, which being in the road from Tlaſcala, and almoſt upon the borders of the lake, they reſolved to fortify and maintain as a ſure retreat, where they might be ſheltered from all the accidents of war.

This reſolution being taken, Cortes reviewed the Spaniards, who amounted to 540 ſoldiers with forty horſe, and nine pieces of artillery, that were brought on ſhore from the ſhips. This review was made with great oſtentation, in order to raiſe the admiration of the Indians, an innumerable concourſe of whom were aſſembled to ſee the ſpectacle; and they were ſo delighted with the flying colours, and the dexterity of the ſoldiers in managing the horſes, handling their arms, and ſaluting the general, that they filled the air with acclamations of applauſe. Xicotencal, at the head of 10,000 Tlaſcalans, complimented Cortes, by appearing in his gayeſt accoutrements, and performed

the Indian exerciſe with equal pomp and agility. All his captains being adorned with variegated feathers, and jewels hanging at their ears and lips, they carried their two handed ſwords under the left arm, with the points upwards, and each was attended by a page who bore his ſhield, on which was repreſented in figures his own warlike atchievements.

Cortes being ſenſible of the difficulty of governing an army compoſed of many different nations without ſtrict diſcipline, formed ſeveral articles of war to be obſerved on pain of death, ſuch as that no man ſhould draw his ſword againſt another, either in their quarters, or upon the march. That a Spaniard ſhould neither in word or action inſult a confederate Indian. That no man ſhould violate or abuſe a woman, though belonging to the enemy. That no ſoldier ſhould without leave quit the army to go and plunder, and that they ſhould not play away their horſes and arms. He alſo prohibited blaſphemy, ſwearing, and other crimes, on pain of infamy, and degradation. Theſe orders being interpreted to the commanders of the Indian troops, had a ſurprizing effect in reforming their diſcipline, and after a few examples had been made, they behaved with the utmoſt regularity and circumſpection.

The general having ſettled theſe wiſe regulations and every thing being ready for the march, he cauſed the Spaniards to be drawn up, and then made a ſpeech, in which he exhorted them to behave with complacency to the poor Indians, who had ſo warmly eſpouſed their intereſt, and declared his intention to puniſh offenders with all the rigour of military diſcipline; reminded them of the honour they had already acquired; repreſented the harveſt of glory that lay before them, and proteſted

that he would upon all occaſions reward ſuperior merit to the utmoſt of his ability and judgment.

After this ſpeech which was anſwered with loud acclamations, he, on the feaſt of Innocents, in the year 1520, put himſelf at the head of the army, which conſiſted of 60,000 men, and having before ſun-ſet marched ſix leagues took up his quarters in Tezmeluca, a town on the confines of Mexico, under the juriſdiction of Guacozingo who had provided plenty of proviſions for the whole army. The next day they proceeded with all poſſible precaution into the enemy's country, and being informed that the Mexicans were aſſembled on the other ſide of a mountain, on the road to Tezeuco, halted all night in the open fields, making large fires on account of the weather. Early in the morning they began to aſcend the mountain, which was overgrown with wood: but having proceeded about a league, they found the way blocked up with trees, and ſharp ſtakes fixed in the ſand in order to wound the horſes. However theſe impediments were ſoon removed by a detachment of 2000 Tlaſcalans, and ſmall parties were ſent to guard againſt ambuſcades. Having marched two leagues farther they arrived at the ſummit of the mountain, from which they had a view of the great lake of Mexico, and ſaw fires ſucceſſively kindled in the diſtant towns, as ſignals of their approach. Then continuing their march till they got clear of the woods, they deſcried the enemy's army at a great diſtance. It filled a large plain, through which ran a river collected from the neighbouring hills, and over it was laid a ſmall wooden bridge, which was left as a decoy to the Spaniards, whom they intended to attack before they could form on the other ſide; but as Cortes advanced, their courage failed them, and they gradually retired from the paſs, until part of the Spaniards had

croſſed the bridge, when 20 horſe, and a body of Tlaſcalans being detached to keep them in play, they fled with great precipitation, and took ſhelter among the rocks and mountains, whither Cortes did not think fit to purſue them.

That evening the troops took up their quarters in a place within three leagues of Tezeuco, and the next day continued their march, when they obſerved ten unarmed Indians haſting towards them with a plate of gold faſtened to the top of a lance, as a ſignal of peace. Theſe were ambaſſadors from the Cacique of Tezeuco, and came to beſeech Cortes to ſpare his country, and to admit him into the number of his confederates. They let him know that he had provided good quarters for the Spaniards in the city, and that his allies would be ſupplied with all neceſſaries without the walls. Being examined in private, they told Cortes that the preſent Emperor had threatened their prince with intolerable oppreſſion, on account of his having refuſed to vote for him at his election, which had made him reſolve to ſue for his protection.

This prince was probably Cacumazin, who had been diſpoſſeſſed by Montezuma, and reſtored by the new emperor, on account of his inveteracy againſt the Spaniards. However this be, Cortes called a council of his officers, let them know the propoſals he had received, and that he doubted the Cacique's ſincerity. Upon which it was reſolved to proceed with great precaution, and in the mean time to embrace, with ſeeming pleaſure, the proffered alliance, in order to obtain a free entrance into the town, where they might continue upon their guard, and act as occaſion ſhould require. Cortes therefore diſpatched the ambaſſadors with thanks, and that night lodged in a village by the town, which was deſerted by its in-

habitants, a circumſtance that increaſed the general's ſuſpicion, eſpecially as the Cacique did not come out to congratulate him upon his arrival. In the morning he was preparing to attack the town, when he found the gates open, and having entered without reſiſtance, he advanced in order through the ſtreets, until he arrived at a large ſquare in which he drew up the greateſt part of his men, while the reſt guarded the avenues. The inhabitants, who, in ſeveral places, appeared in crowds, had all the ſigns of fear, and as there was not a woman to be ſeen, the general made no doubt of their having formed ſome hoſtile deſign. He therefore diſpatched ſeveral officers, and ſome Tlaſcalans to take poſſeſſion of the chief temple, which being performed, they obſerved great numbers of the inhabitants flying, ſome to the mountains, and others in canoes to Mexico, whither the Cacique himſelf had retired, attended by a few followers; for Cortes was ſoon informed, that the Cacique finding, on the return of his ambaſſadors, how ſtrongly Cortes was ſupported by his Indian allies, was afraid of putting in execution a ſcheme he had formed for letting the Spaniards into the city, where, being in full ſecurity, he thought they might be deſtroyed in one night by the Mexicans, whom he had promiſed to admit in the dark for that purpoſe. Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortes reſolved to conciliate the affections of the people, by forbidding his ſoldiers, under the ſevereſt penalties to commit the leaſt outrage againſt the inhabitants. All the Spaniards, and part of the Tlaſcalans, he quartered in the Cacique's palace, while the reſt, to prevent incommoding the people, lodged in the neighbouring ſtreets, without entering the houſes.

The next morning ſome of the prieſts came with a petition in behalf of their gods, to return thanks

for the moderation with which they had been treated, and to desire permission for the nobles to come and make an offer of their obedience and friendship. This request being granted, they came in great formality, headed by a youth of a genteel mien, who told Cortes, that he came with his friends to serve in his army, and hoped they should deserve his protection; Cortes embraced the young man, and having received his followers with marks of respect, retired with them to a private apartment, in order to ask them some questions by means of his interpreters: when they let him know, that the youth was son to the elder brother of Cacumazin, and heir to the crown, which that usurper had possessed, after murdering the lawful sovereign, and that he had rendered himself odious by his tyranny and oppression. Upon hearing these circumstances, Cortes resolved to raise this young prince to the throne, and the next day caused him to be crowned with great solemnity, when the people expressed their satisfaction by the loudest acclamations. In consequence of this revolution the city was soon re-peopled by the return of those families that had fled to the mountains; the Mexicans were declared the enemies of the city, and the Spaniards revered as its benefactors.

CHAPTER XVI.

Cortes marches to the City of Iztapalapa, where he and his Army narrowly eſcape being drowned. The War with Mexico renewed. Several Brigantines built by Cortes's Order at Zempoalla, brought in Pieces to Tezeuco, in order to navigate the Lakes of Mexico. He takes ſeveral Towns, but is repulſed at Tacuba, and his Army expoſed to great Danger; whereupon he returns to Tezeuco.

CORTES, in order to facilitate his enterprize upon Mexico, and to employ his Indian allies, now reſolved to advance with part of his forces to the city of Iztapalapa, ſituated ſix leagues nearer Mexico, on the ſide of the cauſeway. He ſet out on this expedition with 300 Spaniards, and 10,000 Tlaſcalans, leaving the military government of Tezeuco to Gonzalo de Sandoval. They began their march by the cauſeway, deſigning firſt to poſſeſs themſelves of that part of the city which was built upon it, and to diſlodge the inhabitants, with the artillery and fire-arms, from the other part that was built on the lake. But they no ſooner came within ſight of Iztapalapa, than they were oppoſed by a body of 8000 Mexicans, who fought with great bravery, and then retired into the city, where, without ſtaying to defend the entrance, or ſhut up the gates, they threw themſelves into the lake, and ſuddenly diſappeared.

Cortes, finding that the gates were left open, entered the city, the higher part of which was entirely abandoned, and promiſed to take up his quarters there for the night; but it no ſooner began to grow dark, than the Spaniards perceived the canals overflow, and the water of the lake

ruſhing with great impetuoſity from a number of ſluices, which obliged them to quit the place in the greateſt hurry to prevent the whole army being drowned.

Cortes, was extremely mortified at the ſucceſs of this ſtratagem, and ſpent the night on a little riſing ground, where the troops ſuffered by the wetneſs of their clothes and the coldneſs of the weather, and at day break retreated towards Tezeuco, making his men march as faſt as poſſible to keep them warm; but they had not advanced far, when ſeeing themſelves purſued by a vaſt multitude of the enemy, they were obliged to face about in order to ſuſtain the attack, which was very violent: the Mexicans however being ſoon repulſed with conſiderable loſs, the army reſumed their march; but notwithſtanding this the enemy rallied, and twice returned to the charge, by which they loſt above 6000 men.

While Cortes continued at Tezeuco, many of the neighbouring Caciques came to enter into an alliance with him againſt the emperor of Mexico, and among others, deputies arrived in great haſte from the provinces of Chalco and Otumba, to ſolicit aſſiſtance againſt an army of Mexicans that appeared upon their frontiers, in order to puniſh them for having entered into an alliance with the Spaniards. Cortes reſolving to grant them immediate aſſiſtance, detatched Gonzalo de Sandoval and Franciſco de Lugo with 200 Spaniards, 15 horſe and a body of Tlaſcalans. Theſe were attacked in their march by a body of Mexicans, who lay in ambuſcade; but though they were eaſily routed, they afterwards aſſembled a formidable army in the road; however Sandoval and Lugo being apprized of their deſign, advanced in great order, and though the Mexicans ruſhed upon them with great impetuoſity, they met with ſo warm a

reception from the fire-arms and croſs-bows, as put them to a ſtand, when the horſe advancing, were followed by the infantry and Tlaſcalans, who ſoon threw them into confuſion, and being at the ſame time attacked in the rear by the troops of Otumba and Chalco, they were entirely defeated with a terrible ſlaughter; and eight of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the army were taken priſoners. After which the Spaniards paſſed the night in the city of Chalco, where they were entertained with great hoſpitality; and as the Chalqueſe had long been at enmity with the Tlaſcalans, the Spaniſh captains ſeized this opportunity of propoſing a peace between the two nations, and it was afterwards confirmed by the ſenate of Tlaſcala.

Sandoval and Lugo having thus happily terminated this expedition, returned to Tezeuco, when Cortes ordered the eight Mexican priſoners to be brought before him, and received them in the midſt of his captains with a look of great ſeverity, while they had all the marks of terror and confuſion, expecting the puniſhment they thought inevitable; but he let them know, that though it was in his power to make them ſuffer for the barbarous cruelties they had exerciſed on his people, he would convince them that Spaniards were as much their ſuperiors in generoſity, as in valour, and that he would grant them both life and liberty, if they would promiſe him to inform their prince, that he was coming to demand ſatisfaction for their perfidiouſly attacking him in his march from Mexico, in direct oppoſition to the treaty which they themſelves had propoſed and confirmed. But principally to revenge Montezuma's death, and that his army being now augmented, he would in a ſhort time ſeek the emperor in the midſt of his court, and lay the city of Mexico in aſhes, unleſs

he would ſue for peace, which ſhould be granted on reaſonable terms. He then ordered the priſoners to be unchained, and to have a boat to carry them to Mexico by water, at which they threw themſelves at his feet, and promiſed not only to make the emperor acquainted with what he ſaid; but to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to procure an accommodation.

Martin Lopez about this time ſent word to the general that the brigantines were finiſhed, and that he would ſpeedily ſet forward with them, the republic of Tlaſcala having provided 10,000 carriers, and 2000 to relieve thoſe who ſhould be tired, beſides thoſe appointed to carry the proviſion and ammunition; but he thought it adviſeable to ſtay in the laſt town of the Tlaſcalans for a convoy of Spaniards, ſince it would not be prudent to paſs through the Mexican territories without any other force than that of the Indian allies.

This news filled the army with joy; and Cortes immediately gave orders to Sandoval to march with 200 Spaniards, fifteen horſe, and alſo ſome companies of Tlaſcalans, towards the territories of the republic, in order to conduct Lopez with his materials to Tezeuco. This officer accordingly ſet out, but halted at Zalepeque, a ſmall town that refuſed to ſubmit, and was the very place where the Spaniards were murdered in their way from Vera Cruz to Mexico, for which reaſon he had orders to chaſtiſe and reduce the inhabitants; but they no ſooner perceived the detachment than they fled to the mountains; when Sandoval entering the town, found written with charcoal upon a wall, "In this houſe the unhappy Juan Juſtina was taken, with many others of his companions;" and afterwards they found, in one of the temples, the heads of the Spaniards dried to preſerve them from putrefaction.

This dreadful fight filled the Spaniards with rage, and Sandoval reſolved to puniſh the inhabitants with the utmoſt rigour. At this inſtant ſeveral companies that had been detached in purſuit of the fugitives, returned with a great number of men, women, and children, after having killed upon the mountains all who refuſed to ſurrender. Theſe poor creatures half dead with fear, implored the mercy of the Spaniards by their tears and outcries, and ſoon moved them to compaſſion. Sandoval privately deſired the officers to intercede in their behalf, that they might ſet the greater value upon their pardon, which he at length granted, and received the ſubmiſſion of the Cacique and principal citizens, who afterwards ſtrictly adhered to the Spaniards.

The remains of the murdered Spaniards being decently buried, Sandoval continued his march to the frontiers of Tlaſcala, where Martin Lopez received him with joy. He had with him a young officer called Chichemecal, who commanded the Tlaſcalan reinforcement, and had been with difficulty perſuaded to wait for the Spaniſh detachment, he being extremely deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf againſt the Mexicans. The men having been allowed ſufficient time for reſt and refreſhment, Sandoval prepared for marching back to Tezeuco, when Chichemecal took ſuch umbrage at his being ſtationed in the rear, that he could ſcarcely be prevailed upon to proceed, until Sandoval propoſed to march along with him. The vanguard conſiſted of part of the Spaniards and Tlaſcalans who came from Tezeuco. The carriers marched rank and file with their burdens, and being properly ſecured on their flanks, formed the main body, while the rear was brought up by the new reinforcement. In this order they marched through the Mexican territories, without being

moleſted by the enemy, though different bodies of Mexicans frequently appeared on the diſtant hills. On approaching Tezeuco, they were met by Cortes and the Cacique of that city, and made their entrance into it amidſt the acclamations of the whole army, after which all the materials were ſeparately ſtored in a large work-houſe prepared for that purpoſe near the canals.

Cortes, being informed that the veſſels could not be finiſhed in leſs than twenty days, reſolved to engage in ſome enterprize, and therefore leaving the government of Tezeuco to Sandoval, put himſelf at the head of a detachment of 250 Spaniſh Infantry, 20 horſe, and a numerous body of the nobles of Tezeuco; 15,000 Tlaſcalans, under the command of Chichemecal, and about 5000 commanded by Xicotencal; and began his march towards Yaltocan, a town five leagues from Tezeuco, ſituated upon one of the ſmall lakes that diſcharged themſelves into the great lake of Mexico, reſolving to chaſtiſe the inhabitants for returning an inſolent anſwer, and wounding the meſſengers he had ſent to require their obedience. He found the Mexicans drawn up in order of battle at a ſmall diſtance from the town; but after the firſt diſcharge of the fire-arms and croſs-bows, the horſe ruſhed in amongſt them, put them into diſorder, and they were ſoon entirely defeated, with a great ſlaughter, thoſe who ſurvived flying to the mountains.

After this victory, Cortes deferred making an aſſault upon the town till the next day. But the enterpriſe was found much more difficult than was imagined, for it was ſituated in the lake, and the bridge or cauſeway being broke down, it was entirely ſurrounded with water, whence it would have been impoſſible to have carried the place, had not Cortes been informed by one of the Indians of Tezeuco, that a little higher the lake was fordable.

He immediately ordered two companies of Spaniards, ſupported by a large number of the allies, to paſs over, which they performed in ſpite of the enemy, who boldly defended the paſſage with their ſlings and arrows, and obliged every man to fight while he was up to the middle in water; but the Mexicans were no ſooner driven from the ſhore, and obſerved the Spaniards drawing up in a plain near the town, than retiring with precipitation to their canoes, they left the place unguarded, upon which the Spaniards entered without oppoſition. The ſoldiers were allowed to plunder the town, in order to puniſh the inhabitants; but they left very little behind them; however, ſome loads of corn and ſalt were tranſported to the army, with conſiderable quantities of cotton cloths, and ſome jewels, which had not been concealed; fire was then ſet to the principal temples, in order to ſtrike terror into the fugitives; after which the army repaſſed the ford.

Cortes then continued his march, and found ſeveral towns, ſituated upon the lake, that had been abandoned by the inhabitants, in each of which he lodged one night, in order to make obſervations, and afterwards retired without ſuffering any damage to be done to the buildings, to ſhew the Indians that he never uſed rigour, but when he met with reſiſtance.

He now advanced towards Tacuba, a place of great importance, on account of its being nearer to Mexico than any other town upon the lake; but he only deſigned to take a view of it, in order to form ſome ſcheme for attacking it at a more convenient opportunity. Upon his approaching the town, he obſerved a vaſt multitude of the enemy, and in an inſtant they poured upon him with their uſual impetuoſity; but after ſeveral ineffectual efforts they fled, and were purſued with

great ſlaughter. The Spaniards paſſed the night in the field of battle, and the next morning were again aſſaulted by the enemy, who on their being once more routed, fled into Tacuba, and being cloſely purſued, ſome of the Spaniards and allies entered with them; and maintained the fight within the city, till night approaching, Cortes ordered them to be called back, and to ſet fire to the houſes, in order to employ the Mexicans, and give the Spaniards time to make their retreat.

Cortes ſtaid five days in this place, during which he was frequently attacked by the Indians, who were always driven back to the city with great loſs, whence he began to entertain hopes of carrying the town after the garriſon ſhould be waſted by theſe diurnal ſallies. At length he obſerved a conſiderable body of Mexicans advancing on the cauſeway, and having permitted a part of them to paſs and draw up on the main land, he charged them with great fury, when, after a faint reſiſtance, they fled towards the cauſeway, and he following, fell into the ſnare they had laid for him; for his troops were no ſooner crowded on this narrow pavement, than the Mexicans faced about, while innumerable canoes ſailed out of Mexico, and inveſted both ſides of the cauſeway, by which means the Spaniards were at the ſame time attacked in front, flank, and rear. What rendered their ſituation ſtill more dangerous, many of the Mexicans were armed with long ſpears, pointed with the ſwords they had taken from the unfortunate ſoldiers who had been killed in their retreat from that city. In this emergency Cortes formed a front every way, made great havock among the enemy, and at length brought off his troops, many of whom were wounded, and a pair of colours in great danger of being taken.

Cortes being ſenſible of the difficulty of reducing Tacuba, returned to Tezeuco, where he had the ſatisfaction of learning that a veſſel was arrived at Vera Cruz, laden with a great quantity of arms and amunition, with a perſon on board named Julian de Alderete, who came in the character of the king's treaſurer, and ſome Spaniſh ſoldiers of diſtinction who inſtantly marched to Tlaſcala, where they obtained an eſcort which conducted them to Tezeuco.

CHAPER XVIII.

Sandoval obtains three victories over a Mexican army. Cortes marches to Suchimilco; makes an unſucceſsful attempt to ſcale a mountain defended by the Mexicans; defeats a Mexican army; obtains a ſecond victory before Suchimilco, and takes that city, where he narrowly eſcapes being carried priſoner to Mexico.

ABOUT this time the Caciques of Chalco and Thumanalco ſending meſſengers to Cortes to deſire his aſſiſtance againſt a powerful army of Mexicans, he ordered Sandoval to march with a body of forces to their relief. The Mexicans had fortified themſelves in ſome hollow ways, where they were ſecured from being attacked by the horſe, whence Sandoval, with great difficulty, diſlodged them. They however rallied upon the plain, where they again ſoon gave way, and diſperſed; but the Spaniards purſuing them, made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter, that the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces.

Immediately after, Sandoval, being informed that a body of 14, or 15,000 Mexicans were ad-

vancing towards him, the troops were called in from the purſuit, and being again ranged in order of battle, marched to meet them; but theſe freſh forces, being ſoon routed, fled in great confuſion to the town of Guaſtapeque; the Spaniards entered the place at the ſame time, and dividing into ſeveral ſtreets, drove out the enemy with a terrible ſlaughter. Sandoval allowed the ſoldiers to plunder the place, but ſoon after the Cacique and principal inhabitants making their ſubmiſſion, Sandoval took them into his protection.

The next day, Sandoval being informed that the Mexicans, who had eſcaped from the two laſt engagements had rendezvouſed at Capiſtlan, he marched immediately to that town, which was ſituated on the top of a high rock, whence the Mexicans truſting to their ſituation, exaſperated the Spaniards by their reproaches. Sandoval ordered the troops of Chalco and Tlaſcala to advance, on account of their being accuſtomed to thoſe rugged paſſes; but they did not obey him with their uſual alacrity, until he obſerving their backwardneſs, began to mount the rocks at the head of the Spaniards, when his example animated them to ſuch a degree, that they clambered up with ſurpriſing intrepidity. The Mexicans ſeeing this retired with marks of deſpondence into the town, but were afterwards driven out to the very edge of the precipice, and all who did not throw themſelves down were put to the ſword.

Sandoval in theſe three engagements deſtroyed the Mexican army to a man. However the emperor ordered a new army to march, over whom the Chalqueſe, after a deſperate action, obtained a complete victory.

Cortes now reſolved to penetrate in perſon as far as Suchimilco, a town upon the lake, with a broad cauſeway, which joined thoſe that led to Mexico,

and this was a ſeaſonable relief to the Chalqueſe, who had diſcovered a new army of Mexicans on that ſide. The confederate Caciques were already aſſembled in the city of Chalco, when Cortes unexpectedly arrived, and filled the city with joy and gratitude. That general being then told by the Indian ſcouts, that the Mexicans had taken poſſeſſion of ſome almoſt inacceſſible mountains on the road to Suchimilco, marched directly to a town which he found deſerted by its inhabitants, and in which he ſpent the night. The next morning he entered the mountainous country by a narrow and difficult path; while the Mexicans ſhowed themſelves from the tops of the eminences on each ſide. The army marched until they arrived at an opening. There Cortes ordered the men to attack a conſiderable fortreſs, where the enemy appeared in great numbers; and without waiting to chooſe the leaſt difficult path, ordered Pedro de Barba, and Bernal Diaz de Caſtillo to begin the attack, The Mexicans at firſt retired in ſeeming confuſion; but when the Spaniards had mounted to the moſt dangerous part of the precipice, they ſuddenly returned with hideous outcries, and rolled down large ſtones, which bore down every thing in their way. Cortes then ſeeing the impoſſibility of ſucceeding gave orders for their retreat, upon which they retired with the loſs of four Spaniards killed, and a number of them wounded.

Cortes now ordered the army to march, and in order to allure the Mexicans laid open his flanks, and then ſuddenly turned ſhort upon them, but was unable to do them much damage on account of the ſwiftneſs of their flight, and the thickneſs of the woods. Thoſe above at the ſame time abandoned their fortification, and followed at a diſtance. Cortes having proceeded a league and a half farther, perceived another fortreſs garriſoned

by the enemy; but not chooſing to attack it, he encamped near a forſaken village. The general the next morning taking a view of the enemy's poſt, perceived an eminence within muſket ſhot, which the Mexicans had neglected to occupy; but which was immediately ſeized by Alderete and Verdugo Barba, with the muſketeers, who made ſuch a ſucceſsful fire, that the Mexicans, filled with terror, fled to the diſtant parts of the country.

Cortes now marched to Guaſtapeque: but before he reached it, the Cacique with the principal inhabitants invited him and the reſt of the Spaniards to lodge there, to which he readily conſented. They had however but little time to enjoy the pleaſures of this place, for the general being informed that the enemy had halted at Quatlavaca, to diſpute his paſſage over a hollow way filled with water, ordered the army to march thither. The paſſage ſeemed impracticable; but Cortes charged the enemy with the fire-arms and arrows, and ordered two or three bridges to be made of long trees, which being laid acroſs the chaſm, afforded a paſſage for the infantry, which the Mexicans ſeeing, attacked thoſe who had paſſed over with ſuch fury, that they could hardly ſtand their ground, and were in the moſt imminent danger, when Cortes, Alverado, Olid and Tapia, came to their aſſiſtance with the horſe, who, together with ſome Tlaſcalans, charged the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were immediately diſordered, routed, and purſued to the mountains with great ſlaughter.

Early the next morning Cortes marched towards Suchimilco; the firſt day they went through a defile three leagues long, and at night took up their quarters in ſome houſes near the road. At day break they proceeded on their march, and perceived the Mexicans draw up in a plain, with

a large and rapid river in the front. Cortes extended the troops of his allies along the bank of the river, and while both ſides made ſome diſcharges at each other with little effect, commanded the Spaniards to take the bridge that was between them; but they met with ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance, that they were twice repulſed. However, returning the third time, they gained the paſs, which ſo diſcouraged the Mexicans, that they began to fly in great diſorder.

The Spaniards inſtantly formed upon the ground the Mexicans had quitted, and being joined by ſeveral bodies of the allies who had ſwam over the river, advanced towards the Mexicans, who had halted near the city, and fell upon them with ſuch reſolution as they were entering the gates, that they made a very great ſlaughter. Cortes then leaving part of his troops to ſecure a retreat, entered with the fugitives, and ordering ſome companies to force the barricadoes in the ſtreet on the right and left, advanced to the principal avenues, where the enemy had their greateſt force. This he with ſome difficulty ſurmounted, and ruſhed forwards into a multitude of the enemy, but inſtantly finding himſelf ſurrounded, and his retreat cut off, he ſupported himſelf for ſome time, until his horſe falling, he was in extreme danger, and nothing ſaved him but the great deſire of the Mexicans to ſeize him alive for a preſent to the emperor; but before they could carry him off, Chriſtoval de Olea, a common ſoldier of diſtinguiſhed bravery, ſeeing his diſtreſs, and calling to ſome Tlaſcalans who were fighting near him, put himſelf at their head, and forced his way to the place with ſuch reſolution, that he killed the Mexicans who had ſeized Cortes, and he having thus recovered his liberty with only two ſlight wounds, puſhed the enemy ſo vigorouſly, that they fled to

that part of the city which was built in the water and left the Spaniards maſters of all the ſtreets upon the firm land.

The troops without the gates were in the mean while warmly attacked by a body of 10,000 Mexicans, who fought for ſome time with great obſtinacy, but were at length glad to return with conſiderable loſs.

This ſucceſs made Cortes maſter of all the ſtreets and buildings on the firm land, and having placed ſufficient guards by the water-ſide, he ordered an officer and 20 or 30 ſoldiers to keep watch on the top of the principal temple. Near the cloſe of the evening they diſcovered about 2000 armed canoes advancing with great ſpeed from Mexico, upon which the guards at the landing places were immediately doubled, and in the morning about 15,000 of the enemy landed at a conſiderable diſtance from the city. Cortes immediately marched out and charged them with ſuch impetouſity, that they were routed at the firſt attack, and the whole action appeared rather a chaſe than a victory.

Cortes having continued four days at Suchimilco, retired in good order, with the ſatisfaction of having accompliſhed the end of his expedition, by taking a view of that city and weakening the force of the enemy: he was however inwardly diſſatisfied at his having loſt nine or ten Spaniards in this expedition. For beſides thoſe who were killed in attempting to ſcale the mountains, three or four were taken alive, while they were pillaging one of the houſes at Suchimilco, and two of his ſervants fell into an ambuſcade by imprudently ſeparating from the army.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The brigantines got ready for failing on the lake. A plot to aſſaſſinate the general and his principal officers diſcovered. Xicotencal leaves Cortes to return home, but is purſued and killed. The brigantines launched upon the lake, and attacked by 4000 canoes, moſt of which are deſtroyed. An attack made upon the three cauſeways at once, in which the Spaniards are ſeaſonably relieved by the brigantines; theſe clear the lake of the Mexicans, who afterwards invent ſeveral ſtratagems to deſtroy the Spaniards.

SOON after Cortes's return to Tezeuco, a ſoldier who had been long in the ſervice came to him with marks of fear and concern, and deſired a private audience, which being granted, he gave him all the particulars of a conſpiracy that had been formed in his abſence. The chief contriver of this treacherous deſign was a private ſoldier, named Antonio de Villafana, who diſliked the enterprize againſt Mexico, blamed the general for his purſuit of that conqueſt, accuſing him of obſtinacy and raſhneſs. Finding that his fellow ſoldiers liſtened to his inſinuations, he expreſſed a deſire of relinquiſhing the enterprize, and returning to Cuba; but as it was impoſſible to do this without Cortes's conſent, he, after having ſufficiently ſounded his confederates, propoſed to them a ſcheme for aſſaſſinating the general and all his principal officers, except Franciſco Verdugo, who had married the ſiſter of Diego Velaſquez, and on him they propoſed to confer the chief command, which would give a ſanction to the mutiny, and be highly agreeable to the governor of Cuba;

but as they knew Verdugo to be a man of honour, they durſt not acquaint him with their deſign. In ſhort, the affair was managed with ſuch dexterity, that the numbers of the conſpirators daily increaſed, and it was at length agreed, to feign a packet from Vera Cruz with letters from Spain, and to give it the general while at table; that they ſhould all go in together, under pretence of hearing the news, and while Cortes was reading the firſt letter, they were to make uſe of that opportunity to murder him and all his friends with their daggers.

The general having received this intelligence, went immediately, with two Alcades and ſome of his captains, to Villafana's quarters, where he found him with three or four of his accomplices, and having put him in irons, and ordered every body to retire, while he examined him in private, he took out of the wretch's boſom, a paper ſigned by all the conſpirators, in which he found ſome names that greatly increaſed his concern; but concealing the paper from his friends, he ordered the ſoldiers who were found with Villafana to be put into another priſon, and then withdrew, directing the officers of juſtice to proceed in his trial with all poſſible diſpatch, without taking any notice of his accomplices; and Villafana being condemned to die, he was the next morning ſeen hanging at the window of his own lodging, ſo that his guilt and puniſhment were made public at the ſame time. But this being no time to ſatisfy juſtice with the lives of ſo many perſons, the general pretended that Villafana had ſwallowed a paper which he believed contained the names of the conſpirators, and then aſſembling his captains and ſoldiers, gave them a ſummary account of the deſign againſt his life, and the lives of many preſent; ſaid that he thought himſelf happy in not

knowing Villafana's accomplices, and intreated his friends to enquire whether the Spaniards had any complaint to make againſt his proceedings, becauſe he was above all things deſirous of giving ſatisfaction to his ſoldiers, and was ready to correct his own faults. At the ſame time he ordered the ſoldiers who had been taken with Villafana, to be ſet at liberty, and behaved to the reſt of the conſpirators as uſual, ſo that thinking him ignorant of their crime, they afterwards ſerved him with extraordinary circumſpection, to avert any ſuſpicion of their fidelity. He however ſeized this opportunity of having 12 men, commanded by an officer, to guard his perſon.

Cortes was a few days after perplexed with another affair, that gave him no ſmall diſturbance. Xicotencal, having conceived ſome diſguſt at the general, reſolved to leave the army, and having aſſembled ſome companies of Tlaſcalans who were attached to his intereſt, retired in the night, of which Cortes being informed, ſent after him ſome noble Indians of Tezeuco to perſuade him to return; but Xicotencal's anſwer ſo provoked the general, that he diſpatched three companies of Spaniards, with an additional force of Indians, with orders to make him priſoner, or to kill him in caſe of reſiſtance. As he defended himſelf to the laſt, it was impracticable to take him alive, and he no ſooner fell, than his ſoldiers who fought with reluctance, readily ſubmitted, and returned to Tezeuco, leaving their general hanging on a tree.

The brigantines being now ready, Cortes ordered them to be launched and rigged, and then reviewed the Spaniards, who amounted to 900 men, near 200 of whom uſed fire-arms and croſs-bows, the reſt were armed with ſwords, bucklers, and lances. He had alſo 86 horſe, and 18 pieces of

cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. He then ordered, on board each veſſel, 20 Spaniards, under the command of a captain, with twelve rowers and one piece of artillery.

Cortes reſolving to take poſſeſſion at the ſame time of the three principal cauſeways: the expedition of Tacuba was intruſted to Alverado, who had 150 Spaniſh foot, 30 horſe, 30,000 Tlaſcalans, and two pieces of cannon. The attack of the cauſeway called Iztapalapa was committed to Sandoval, who commanded 150 Spaniards, 24 horſe, two pieces of artillery, and all the troops of Chalco, Cholula, and Guacocingo, amounting to above 40,000 men, and the attempt upon Cuyocan another of them was aſſigned to De Olid, with 160 Spaniards, two pieces of cannon, and 30,000 confederate Indians.

Alverado and Olid marched together as far as Tacuba, which was abandoned by the inhabitans, as were all the towns upon the lake, who were gone to defend Mexico. The two Spaniſh captains had notice that the Mexicans had formed a conſiderable body within half a league of the city to cover the aqueducts that ſupplied it with freſh water. Upon this intelligence they marched thither, and after a very obſtinate battle, drove the enemy from their poſt; broke the aqueducts, and by this means effectually cut off their water.

Olid then marched to Cuyocan the other cauſeway; and Cortes having allowed Sandoval time to reach Iztapalapa, embarked with the Cacique of Tezeuco and his brother, and took upon himſelf the command of the lake, after having left a ſufficient number of troops to cover his place of arms, and ſecure a communication with his quarters. His thirteen brigantines being drawn up in a line, and adorned with flags and ſtreamers, he approached Mexico, and then ſailing back, obſerved a pretty large caſtle, ſituated upon a ſmall iſland

which the enemy thought impregnable. Cortes landed here with 150 Spaniards, and drove the enemy, who made a brave defence, into the caſtle, where they were ſo crowded, that having no room to manage their arms, they were obliged to ſurrender. The Spaniards then returned to their brigantines, in order to ſteer towards Iztapalapa, to aſſiſt Sandoval, when they obſerved a fleet of 4000 canoes aſſembling on the lake. Cortes drew up his veſſels in the form of an half moon, and advanced towards the canoes, when a breeze of wind ſuddenly ſpringing up, they began the attack at a diſtance with the artillery, and then making uſe of their ſails, ran in among the canoes with ſuch force as overſet all that ſtood in their way, while their fire-arms and croſs-bows made a terrible ſlaughter. The nobles of Mexico, who had manned the 500 canoes in the front, made ſome oppoſition; but moſt of theſe being deſtroyed, the reſt were thrown into ſuch confuſion, that they ran foul of each other, ſo that the greateſt part of them overſet, when the brigantines purſuing the miſerable remains of this fleet with their cannon ſhot, forced them to take ſhelter in the canals of the city of Mexico.

Cortes paſſed the night near Tezcuco, and in the morning was preparing to ſail to Iztapalapa, when he diſcovered a great number of canoes making towards Cuyocan, and following them found De Olid engaged on the cauſeway with the enemy who defended it, and at the ſame time with the canoes on each ſide, againſt each of whom being obliged to make a front, he was hardly able to keep the ground he had gained. The Mexicans had drawn up the bridges on the cauſeways towards the city, and mounting on them in ranks, charged from the top. The Spaniards were obliged to clear theſe places of defence with their

croſs-bows, while faſcines were brought to fill the ditch; but a piece of artillery being brought up, it ſoon cleared the paſſages. De Olid had juſt made himſelf maſter of the firſt ditch when the canoes arrived; but at the ſight of the brigantines all the Mexicans fled with precipitation: and the canoes on the other ſide, as ſoon as three brigantines had got through a wide paſſage, retired in diſorder towards the city,

The troops paſſed the night upon the cauſeway, and in the morning proceeded on their march with little or no oppoſition, until they approached the laſt bridge, which they found fortified with ſtrong works, and the trenches that were cut in the ſtreets were defended by a vaſt multitude of people. The artillery from the brigantines made a dreadful ſlaughter of them, while De Olid having ruined the fortification of the cauſeway, and filled up the ditch, charged the Mexicans who had defended them; and Cortes landing with 30 Spaniards, gave ſuch life to the attack, that the enemy quickly turned their backs, and the chief ſtreet of Mexico was gained. The fugitives however took poſſeſſion of a temple near the entrance of the city, and from this poſt they defied the Spaniards; but Cortes ordering three or four pieces of cannon to be landed, they were ſoon made ſenſible of their danger, and all that part of the city was forſaken; the next day Cortes retired along the cauſeway to Cuyocan, guarded on each ſide by his brigantines, ſo that the enemy durſt not diſturb his march.

Cortes then proceeded to Iztapalapa, where he found Sandoval reduced to the laſt extremity. He had taken poſſeſſion of the buildings on the land, and had made great havoc among thoſe who approached in their canoes; he had demoliſhed ſome houſes, and overthrown two or three reinforcements from Mexico, ſent to attack him by land;

and that day the Indians having abandoned a large building, he reſolved to ſeize it, in order to enlarge his quarters. This ſcheme he effected by forming a paſſage with faſcines, but he had no ſooner entered the houſe with ſome of his people, than a great number of canoes which had lain in ambuſh, advanced with a multitude of Mexicans, who threw themſelves into the water and dragging away the faſcines cut off his retreat, by which means he was beſieged on all ſides, while the enemy diſcharged their arrows at him and his men, from all the terraces and windows of the neighbouring houſes. He was in this diſtreſs when Cortes arrived, and obſerving the vaſt number of canoes in the water ſtreets, advanced with all poſſible ſpeed, and played his artillery with ſuch ſucceſs, that the enemy fled in great confuſion. The loſs of the Mexicans on this occaſion was very great.

Cortes now reſolved to quit the poſt he was in, and to diſpatch Sandoval to Tapeaquilla, where there was another cauſeway, the poſſeſſion whereof would effectually cut off the enemy's proviſions, of which they already began to be in want. Sandoval advancing, and finding the place forſaken, lodged himſelf in it without reſiſtance. The general then ſailed to Tacuba to viſit Alverado, who had met with various ſucceſs; for though the place was deſerted at his approach, he had, like De Olid, been obliged to beat down works, and to fill up ditches.

Cortes now reſolved to put a ſtop to all operations by land, until he had made himſelf maſter of the lake; for this purpoſe he prevailed on the allied towns to ſend a vaſt number of canoes manned by the moſt expert Indians, who with the brigantines ſailing continually about the lake, and along the three cauſeways, afforded them an op-

portunity of taking many canoes loaded with proſions and water, which reduced the beſieged to great diſtreſs.

The Mexicans now ſent canoes to clear the ditches, and made ſallies in the night only to alarm their enemies, and fatigue them by want of ſleep; that they might afterwards attack them with the advantage of freſh troops. They alſo built large piraguas ſtrengthened with planks, in which they ſheltered themſelves from the ſhot in time of engagement. In theſe they came out in the night, and lay in ambuſh behind a grove of reeds in the lake, which effectually concealed them from view: and deſigning to draw thither the brigantines that cruiſed about the lake by two at a time, they provided three or four canoes laden with proviſions for a bait, and fixed a conſiderable number of large ſtakes in the water to deſtroy or incumber the brigantines.

The next day, as they expected, two of the brigantines that attended Sandoval began their cruiſe, when the Mexicans ſent out their canoes, which as ſoon as they were ſeen, pretended to fly and retire among the reeds, and the brigantines giving chaſe, fell in among the ſtakes, where they were ſo embarraſſed, that they could neither move forward nor backwards. At the ſame inſtant the piraguas came out and attacked them on all ſides with ſuch fury, that the Spaniards muſt infallibly periſhed, had not ſome expert ſwimmers cut away the ſtakes with hatchets, and in the mean while they kept ſuch a fire upon the enemy, that almoſt all the piraguas were ſunk, but this victory was not obtained before the brigantines had received great damage.

Cortes however reſolved to turn this ſtratagem againſt the enemy, and being ſometime after informed that the Mexicans had concealed them-

ſelves a ſecond time among the reeds, he ordered ſix brigantines to ſteer off in the night, and lie in ambuſh among another parcel of reeds, at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's ambuſcade. In the morning one of the brigantines began her cruiſe, and diſcovering the piraguas as if by accident, ſtood off immediately, and pretended to fly towards the place of the counter ambuſcade, when ſhe was inſtantly purſued by the piraguas, until being at a convenient diſtance, the other brigantines ſallied out, and gave them ſuch a terrible ſalute with their great guns, that at the very firſt diſcharge they were almoſt all ſunk, and moſt of the men periſhed.

CHAPTER XIX.

Cortes offers a Peace to the Emperor, but his Prieſts prevent the accepting it. Upon which Cortes makes a general attack, and after an obſtinate engagement is defeated. He afterwards renews the attack, makes a lodgement and obliges the Emperor to retire to the fartheſt part of the city. The Emperor and his Conſort are ſeized in an attempt to eſcape, and the whole Empire of Mexico acknowledges their ſubjection to Spain. Cortes extends his conqueſts to the South-Sea, rebuilds Mexico, and dies in Spain.

CORTES being informed that the beſieged began to want proviſions, exerted his utmoſt diligence in cutting off all relief from the city, and in the mean time diſmiſſed two Mexican noblemen with a meſſage to the emperor Guatimozin, with overtures of peace. Upon which the emperor was

adviſed to agree to the general's propoſals. This favourable diſpoſition was however deſtroyed by the remonſtrances of the prieſts; inſomuch that Guatimozin himſelf declared that, to whatever diſtreſs the city ſhould be reduced, he would put the firſt man to death, who ſhould from thenceforward mention peace.

Cortes was no ſooner informed of this, than he reſolved to carry fire and ſword into the city; and for that purpoſe ſent orders to the commanders of the troops of Tacuba, and Tapeaquilla, while he himſelf marched by the cauſeway of Cuyocan at the head of the troops commanded by De Olid. All obſtacles were ſoon removed, and the troops advanced without any conſiderable oppoſition to the laſt bridge, where the Indians had broken down part of the cauſeway to enlarge the ditch; and on the oppoſite bank they had raiſed a fortification covered with planks; it was however ſoon deſtroyed by the artillery, and the enemy retired into the city. Thus the ſhore being left free, Cortes ordered his men to land immediately, and to take on ſhore the horſe and three pieces of cannon, but before he advanced into the ſtreets he gave orders to Julian de Alderete to ſtay behind, and fill up the ditch, while the brigantines were to approach the ſcene of action by the great canals, and to fire upon the enemy. But Alderete no ſooner heard them engaged, than thinking his employment diſhonourable, he ruſhed forwards to have a ſhare in the battle, leaving the care of filling up the ditch to another officer, who alſo abandoned it for the ſame reaſon. The Mexicans ſtood the firſt charge, and behaved with great bravery, doing the Spaniards conſiderable damage from the windows and tops of the houſes. But ſuddenly in the heat of the engagement, they quitted the ground, for Guatimozin being informed that the

great ditch was abandoned, reſolved to fall upon the Spaniards in their retreat.

Cortes ſuſpected their intent, and having barely time to gain his quarters before night, began his retreat, after having ſet fire to ſeveral houſes, from which he had ſuſtained ſome damage. He had ſcarce began to march, before his troops were attacked on all ſides by an incredible number of choſen warriors, who fought with ſuch intrepidity, that they diſregarded both the fire-arms and croſs-bows. Cortes being informed that the retreat was hindered by the ditch, endeavoured to form his battalions: but could not, becauſe the confederates, being in the front, were the firſt who arrived at the ditch, and had thrown themſelves into it with ſuch confuſion, that they were deſtroyed by the Mexicans, who either wounded or drowned them. The general was now left with his people to maintain the fight, when his horſe being killed under him, Captain Franciſco de Guzman alighted to give him his, and was taken priſoner without a poſſibility of being reſcued. At length however he got to the brigantines, and returned to his quarters, wounded, and extremely mortified at his defeat, above 40 Spaniards being taken priſoners. Upwards of 1000 Tlaſalans were killed, one piece of cannon was loſt, and of the Spaniards ſcarce one eſcaped unwounded.

Alverado and Sandoval entered the city by different ways at the ſame time with Cortes, and met with nearly the ſame ſucceſs, but they did not loſe above 20 Spaniards.

The Mexicans celebrated the victory with great rejoicings, and were ſo elevated with their good fortune, that a little before break of day they advanced by the three cauſeways, to beat up the quarters, to ſet fire to the brigantines, and to complete the deſtruction of the Spaniards. But the

latter were well prepared to receive them; they were repulſed by the artillery of the brigantines, and ſome pieces mounted at the Spaniſh lodgements, which played upon the cauſeways.

The next day Guatimozin cauſed a report to be ſpread, that Cortes was killed. However, his allies ſoon recovered their fright, freſh ſuccours came in, and ſeveral nations that had hitherto continued neuter, being ſenſible of the diſtreſs of Mexico, declared for the Spaniards. So that in a few days, Cortes found himſelf at the head of above 200,000 men. The Mexicans in the mean time were not idle, but frequently attacked the quarters both by day and night, though they were always repulſed with loſs. The city was now in the greateſt diſtreſs for want of bread and water, which induced the general to proceed to action, and as he had ſuffered ſo much in retreating, it was agreed that the commander of each body of Spaniards ſhould endeavour to ſtay in that part of the city into which he ſhould penetrate.

This plan being approved, Alverado and Sandoval began their march by day break from Tacuba to Tapeaquilla; Cortes advanced from Cuyocan with a body of troops commanded by Olid; while the brigantines and canoes were diſtributed ſo as to ſupport the three attacks. All the difficulties were ſurmounted as uſual, and the three captains entering the city much about the ſame time, fortified themſelves with the ruins of the houſes.

This new method of proceeding filled the Mexicans with conſternation, and entirely broke all their meaſures. A council was immediately ſummoned at Guatimozin's palace, where it was reſolved to diſlodge the Spaniards, and their army being divided into three bodies, advanced to the attack, at break of day; but preparations having been made for their reception, they no ſooner approach-

ed, than the artillery began to play upon the avenues, and made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter of the van-guard, that they durſt not proceed; when the Spaniards ruſhed upon them, they were ſoon routed and diſperſed, by which means they obtained better quarters for the enſuing night. The Spaniards that continued were obliged, as they advanced, to deſtroy houſes, level works, and fill up the trenches cut acroſs every ſtreet: notwithſtanding theſe obſtructions, all the three leaders in leſs than four days came in ſight of the principal ſquare in the city where they had agreed to meet. Alverado arrived firſt at this ſpacious ſquare, which was called Tlateleuco, where he found the enemy endeavouring to make a ſtand, but he fell upon them with ſuch reſolution, that they immediately abandoned the ground, and retired in great confuſion to the ſtreets on the oppoſite ſide. Obſerving at a ſmall diſtance a very large temple, the towers of which were poſſeſſed by the enemy, he immediately detached ſome companies to drive them from thence in order to ſecure his rear, which was performed with very little oppoſition. He was ſoon after joined by Cortes and Olid, who advanced by a different avenue, driving a confuſed throng of Mexicans before them into the ſquare, who falling in upon the battalion which Alverado had drawn up in order of battle, and being attacked on every ſide, were moſt of them cut to pieces. The ſame miſerable fate attended thoſe who were driven into the ſquare, by the third diviſion under the command of Sandoval.

The enemy perceieving that the whole force of the Spaniards was united, now ran with the utmoſt precipitation to defend the perſon of their prince, by which means Cortes had an opportunity of lodging his troops to the beſt advantage. The next morning all the ſtreets in poſſeſſion of the

enemy were filled with armed men, in order to cover thoſe who were raiſing a kind of fortification, but as they did not proceed to hoſtilities, Cortes ſuſpended the attack he had meditated and reſolved to try once more, whether they were diſpoſed to an accommodation now they ſaw him ſo advantageouſly poſted. He therefore ſent a meſſage to Guatimozin, who had retired with his miniſters and the nobility to a ſpacious angle of the city, the greateſt part of which was defended by the lake.

A ſuſpenſion of arms being agreed upon, Guatimozin held ſeveral councils, to deliberate on the overtures of peace, and the majority were for agreeing to the treaty; while others were for continuing the war, who being joined by the prieſts it was reſolved to proſecute it. In the mean time the emperor gave orders that all the piraguas and canoes ſhould retire to a bay, in order to ſecure his retreat, in caſe he ſhould be driven to extremities. Cortes immediately ſuſpected their deſign, and therefore appointed Sandoval commander in chief of all the brigantines, with orders to ſurround the bay at a diſtance, and to keep a ſtrict watch upon the enemy's motions.

Cortes having taken theſe ſteps, advanced with his troops, which the Mexicans perceiving, prepared for an engagement. But they no ſooner obſerved the terrible havock made by the firſt diſcharge of the cannon on their wooden fortifications than they ſent notice of it to Guatimozin, and in a little time demanded a parley; upon which four Mexicans, who ſeemed perſons of diſtinction, appeared on the farther ſide of a ditch, and informed Cortes that they were appointed to receive his propoſals, but the general deſired that the emperor himſelf would come to treat in perſon, and in the mean time a ſtop ſhould be put to all acts of hoſ-

tility. With this anſwer the ambaſſadors retired, and word was brought that the emperor would come the next day to conclude a treaty, but he put off his coming for ſeveral days.

However, the day being come which was the utmoſt period allowed by Cortes, Sandoval diſcovered, before the ſun aroſe, great numbers embarking on board the canoes in the bay, and theſe attacked the brigantines with great fury, without being terrified at the havoc made among them by the artillery.

In the hotteſt part of the engagement Sandoval obſerved ſix or ſeven piraguas rowing with the utmoſt ſpeed from the fartheſt part of the bay, upon which he ordered a brigantine to give them chace. The captain ſoon came up with the foremoſt piragua, which ſeemed to command the reſt, when the Mexicans inſtantly ceaſed rowing; and deſired him not to fire, becauſe the emperor was on board. The captain, with other Spaniards, immediately leaped into the piragua, to ſecure their prize. Upon which Guatimozin ſaid, "I am your priſoner, and ready to go whither you think fit to conduct me. All the favour I have to aſk is, that ſome regard may be paid to the honour of the empreſs my conſort, and her female attendants." Guatimozin then paſſing into the brigantine, gave his hand to that princeſs to help her up the ſide. The captain had no ſooner made Guatimozin priſoner, than he diſpatched a canoe to Cortes with an account of his ſucceſs, and all military operations ceaſed ſoon after*.

Cortes ſent two companies of Spaniards to the landing place to guard the royal priſoners, whom

* This great event happened on the 13th of Auguſt, 1521, and from thence has been dated the dominion of the Spaniards over the Mexican empire.

he received with great reſpect, which the emperor returned in the ſame manner. On their arrival at the Spaniſh quarters, Guatimozin and his empreſs went in firſt. When Cortes, to alleviate their ſorrow, told him, that he was priſoner to one of the moſt powerful monarchs of the univerſe, from whoſe clemency he might hope to receive not only his liberty, but even his empire, and that till his pleaſure ſhould be known, he ſhould be treated with all the reſpect due to the emperor of Mexico.

Cortes thinking it was ſtill neceſſary to reduce that part of the city which was in the enemy's poſſeſſion, left the care of his priſoners to Sandoval, and went to give orders for another attack. But Guatimozin ſuſpecting the cauſe of his abrupt departure, deſired to ſpeak with him, and upon his returning back, conjured him to ſpare his unhappy ſubjects, who would ſurrender very peaceably as ſoon as they were informed of his captivity. He therefore intreated Cortes to allow one of his miniſters to accompany him, and command the Mexicans, in their prince's name, to obey the Spaniſh general, which order they no ſooner heard, than they threw down their arms and ſubmitted.

Cortes's troops no ſooner took poſſeſſion of the places evacuated by the Mexicans, than they found themſelves ſurrounded with objects of horror, a vaſt number of miſerable wretches, of the ſick and wounded, were lying calling upon death to releaſe them from their tortures, and whole houſes and courts, were filled with the bodies of perſons of diſtinction, who had been ſlain in battle, and kept till their funerals could be performed: from theſe places proceeded a ſtench which threatened the air with infection, and obliged Cortes to take immediate care to prevent a peſtilence, by giving orders for interring the bodies. While this neceſſary office was performing, he retired with his priſoners

to Cuyocan, after having aſſigned quarters to Alverado and Sandoval, whom he appointed to ſuperintend the cleanſing of Mexico, and this diſagreeable duty being in a few days performed, he returned again to the city.

The reſpect with which the emperor Guatimozin was treated did not laſt long, for the ſoldiers remembering the vaſt quantities of gold they had ſeen in Montezuma's poſſeſſion, demanded an account of what was become of it. When Cortes proteſting his ignorance, they ſuggeſted that he had ſecretly ſecured it for his own uſe. Hence they grew furious and inſolent, in which diſpoſition they were encouraged by Julian de Alderete, the king's treaſurer, who had great authority, was nephew to the biſhop of Burgos, and was inclined to do Cortes all the miſchief in his power. Alderete being unable to obtain an account of theſe treaſures, demanded that the emperor and his firſt miniſter ſhould be put into his hands, in order to be examined about them, which Cortes in his preſent circumſtances did not care to refuſe.

This inhuman monſter, according to ſome authors, cauſed them to be immediately put upon the rack; but as others, with greater truth, affirm, had them extended upon burning coals. When they were in this melancholy ſituation, the miniſter caſting his eyes upon the emperor cried out violently, upon which Guatimozin with great compoſure ſaid, "Do you think I lie here upon roſes?" At which the poor man was ſo ſtruck, that he expired without uttering any further complaint: but Cortes hearing his firſt cries, burſt into the apartment, and relieved the emperor before it was too late; upon which occaſion the ſoldiers themſelves approved his conduct, and blamed the treaſurer's barbarity. No diſcovery was however made by this inſtance of cruelty. They then ſearched all

parts of the lake to no purpoſe, ranſacked the temples, in which they found but little gold, and tore to pieces the tombs, in which a ſmall quantity was found, which Cortes, in order to pacify them, divided amongſt them.

Thoſe provinces of the Mexican empire that were neareſt to the capital immediately ſubmitted, and Cortes having received intelligence of the kingdom of Mechoacan, which lay to the weſtward of Mexico, he ſent Montano with three other Spaniards as ambaſſadors to the king, who at firſt gave them an indifferent reception; but afterwards treated them with great magnificence, and even went in perſon to ſee Cortes, who ſoon after diſpatched Chriſtopher de Olid with an army to take poſſeſſion of that country, which he accordingly did, and forced the king to fly for ſhelter into the mountains.

Cortes upon this great flow of ſucceſs, loſt that humanity and virtue by which he had before diſtinguiſhed himſelf, diſcovering the utmoſt haughtineſs and cruelty. He erected forts, and ſent Sandoval to ſubdue the countries near Tabaſco and Tecountepee on the north ſea, while he ſent De Alverado with a body of Spaniards and confederate Indians, to take poſſeſſion of the countries bordering upon the vale of Guaxaco, to the eaſtward of Mexico.

While Cortes was thus employed in reducing an amazing extent of country to the obedience of Charles V. emperor and king of Spain, Chriſtoval de Tapia arrived at Vera Cruz, with a commiſſion from that prince to command all the new conqueſts; but he was ſo threatened and terrified by the garriſon of Vera Cruz, that he was glad to make his eſcape, and leave the general in poſſeſſion of Mexico.

Cortes now marched in perſon into the province of Panuco, which he not only reduced to ſubjection, but had the inhumanity, in violation of the laws of nature and of nations, to divide the country and all the Indian inhabitants amongſt the officers and ſoldiers, who treated them as ſlaves, and this was his practice in every province, whether the people voluntarily ſubmitted to him, or were compelled to it by force: but he ſent ſuch rich preſents to the emperor, that notwithſtanding his cruelty, he was declared captain-general and governor of New Spain, and the governors of Hiſpaniola and Cuba were commanded to ſend him ſupplies, and to give him all poſſible aſſiſtance.

Cortes now finding himſelf eſtabliſhed in his command, ſet about rebuilding the city of Mexico; aſſigned places for erecting churches and public edifices; laid out market places; divided the beſt part of the ground among the Spaniards and the reſt among the natives.

All his conqueſts could not however procure him a peaceable eſtabliſhment. He was in danger from the intrigues of the Indians, who, from a love of liberty, were deſirous of recovering their country, and driving out or extirpating the Spaniards, and therefore in 1527, he hanged the emperor Guatimozin, and two other Indian princes, whom he had detected in a conſpiracy againſt him. Sometimes he was expoſed to danger, by his own countrymen: Chriſtoval de Olid, who had behaved ſo gallantly in the war againſt the Mexicans, revolted from him; but was ſoon taken off by a violent death. Several conſpiracies were formed to murder him; he had alſo many enemies in Spain, who took ſuch pains to prejudice the emperor Charles V. againſt him, that he found it neceſſary to return thither, in order to juſtify his conduct.

Accordingly in 1528, he undertook that voyage, and was received by Charles V. with great reſpect: that prince gave him the whole vale of Atriſco with the towns and vilages upon it; conferred on him the title of Marquis of the vale of Guaxaca, and to complete his favours, procured him a very honourable marriage.

The next year he returned to Mexico with his lady, and afterwards being involved in ſome diſputes with the viceroy of Mexico, he, in the year 1542, made a ſecond voyage to Spain, where he died in a village near Seville, called Caſtilleja de la Cueſta, on the 2d of December 1554, in the 63d year of his age, after which his corpſe, by his own direction, was carried to New Spain.

THE

Discovery of Golden Castile.

CHAPTER I.

Vasquez Nunez de Balboa sends two agents to solicit succours from James Columbus and the court of Spain. He subdues and enters into an alliance with the Cacique Careta; visits the Cacique Comagre, where he obtains the first intelligence of the South Seas, and of the riches of Peru. He returns to Santa Maria, and, receiving ill news from Spain, resolves to attempt a discovery of that rich country, in hopes of pacifying king Ferdinand and his ministers.

VASQUEZ NUNEZ DE BALBOA, having got the command, in the manner already related in our account of the discoveries from the death of Columbus to Cortes's expedition, immediately contrived to make the best use of the great power he had obtained, in order to extend the discoveries, and acquire more gold, which he foresaw would be the only means of securing him in the possession of the government, at which he had so strangely arrived.

His first care was to secure those supplies, of which the colony was in want; and for this purpose he sent his friend Valdivia to Hispaniola, to prevail on the governor and council to furnish him

and his people with all they wanted; and had the greater hopes of ſucceſs, as the admiral Diego Columbus was then there, who he was ſenſible was diſpoſed to contribute all in his power to promote the king's ſervice. He next perſuaded the colony to ſend a perſon directly to Spain, to inform the court of their ſituation, and of the great probability there was of their being able to make very advantageous diſcoveries and conqueſts; and for this important employment he recommended Zamudio, his colleague in the magiſtracy; by which means he ſecured the ſole authority to himſelf; and at the ſame time committed the care of his concerns to one whoſe intereſts were the ſame as his own; ſince he had been as deeply engaged, in the bringing about the revolution, as himſelf; and as there was a ſmall ſhip belonging to the colony in port, he cauſed it to be fitted out as well as poſſible, in order to carry away the two deputies and his old antagoniſt Enciſo. But as the laſt mentioned perſon might repreſent his proceedings in a light that would be far from being to his advantage, he gave Valdivia a conſiderable quantity of gold, which he deſired him to preſent to the king's treaſurer-general at St. Domingo, who had a great intereſt with the Spaniſh miniſtry.

At this time many Indians reſorted to Darien to obſerve whether the Spaniards were going away, and what were their deſigns: but to conceal their motives they carried Indian wheat and other proviſions to exchange for beads, knives, and other things of ſmall value, endeavouring to perſuade them to be gone, by obſerving that there was much gold and plenty of proviſions in the province of Coyba, which was at 30 leagues diſtance. Upon this, Nunez de Balboa ſent Francis Pizarro, with ſix men to diſcover the country; who having travelled three leagues up the river, were attacked

by 400 Indians, under the command of the Cacique Zemaco; but after a ſmart engagement, in which about 100 of the Indians were killed, the reſt were put to flight, and the Spaniards returned to Darien; but having left one of their companions behind them, Nunez was ſo offended that he ordered Pizarro to march back with a freſh detachment, which he accordingly did, and returned with him to the colony.

Nunez now ſent two brigantines for the Spaniards who had been left at Nombre de Dios. Theſe veſſels ſailing along the coaſt, reached a port belonging to the Cacique of Coyba, where two Spaniards, entirely naked and painted red, came to them. Theſe and another perſon had, a year and a half before, made their eſcape from Nicueſſa's ſhip to avoid the puniſhment due for ſome crime they had committed; and putting themſelves into the hands of the Cacique Careta, were kindly treated; but not agreeing among themſelves, one of them, whoſe name was Juan Alonzo, dangerouſly wounded the other; whereupon the Cacique, admiring him for his bravery, made him commander of his forces, in a war in which he was then engaged, and would do nothing without his advice.

Theſe two men were highly acceptable to thoſe in the brigantines; they obſerved that the country abounded in gold, and that if Nunez would invade it, they ſhould all obtain great riches. Upon this advice it was agreed, that one of them ſhould go to Santa Maria, to inform Nunez of the ſtate of the country; and that the other ſhould ſtay to be ſerviceable as occaſion ſhould offer.

When the brigantines returned to Santa Maria, Nunez was much pleaſed with the intelligence they brought of this rich country, and at his having Spaniſh interpreters, who underſtood the lan-

guage of the natives; and having ſent back the brigantines, to bring away the reſt of the Spaniards from Nombre de Dios, (as they had been unable to take them all before) he choſe 130 of the braveſt of his men, who, on the return of the brigantines, ſet out with a ſufficient ſupply of arms and proviſions in ſearch of the cacique Careta, who lived at 30 leagues diſtance.

The cacique hearing of his coming, waited for him in his houſe; and Nunez arriving there, demanded proviſions, for his men to carry with him to Darien; but Careta excuſing himſelf, under the pretence of his being at war with a neighbouring Cacique, which had prevented his people's ſowing, Nunez, by the advice of Juan Alonzo, pretended to return back by the ſame way he came; but at midnight returned, and, attacking the town in three places, took the cacique with his two wives and children priſoners; all of whom he ſent away to Santa Maria, after having loaded the brigantines with proviſions.

Being returned to Darien, Careta intreated Nunez not to keep him in captivity; promiſing, in return for his liberty, to furniſh him with proviſions, and to do him all the ſervice in his power. He offered him one of his daughters, who was very beautiful, for his wife; and deſired his aſſiſtance againſt his enemy Ponca, a neighbouring cacique, in order that his own people might have leiſure to till and ſow the ground.

Nunez gladly accepted of theſe offers, and taking his daughter, kept her as his miſtreſs, behaving towards her with great affection, which highly pleaſed the Indians. Careta being now ſuffered to return, treated Nunez and 80 men who accompanied him, ſo well, that they reſolved to aſſiſt him in his wars; which Ponca no ſooner heard, than he fled to the mountains; and the Spaniards entering his

country, ſeized ſome proviſions, and a conſiderable quantity of gold.

Careta ſoon after informed his gueſts, that he had another neighbour more powerful than Ponca, whoſe name, as well as that of his country, was Comagre; and, that he lived in greater ſplendor than any other cacique, and was very deſirous of being acquainted with the Spaniards. As the dominions of this prince were large and fruitful, Careta deſired Nunez to pay him a viſit, and offered to accompany him.

On their arrival at the palace of Comagre, they found that it was a large wooden building, 150 yards in length, and 80 in breadth, ſurrounded with a good ſtone wall. The reception they met with was equally kind and hoſpitable; Comagre and his ſons taking all the pains imaginable to render their ſtay agreeable, and diſcovering in their converſation a knowledge and politeneſs much ſuperior to any of the Indians they had hitherto met with. They were entertained with plenty of proviſions and with different kinds of liquors of various colours, not much inferior either in ſtrength or flavour to wine; and the cacique and his ſons making them preſents of gold and pearls, they had no reaſon to repent of their journey, or to diſtruſt Careta, who ſeemed highly pleaſed with the courteous entertainment they had given his friends.

Comagre's eldeſt ſon being particularly deſirous of obliging his gueſts, cauſed ſeveral pieces of gold, that were valuable both for their work-manſhip and fineneſs, to be brought; and this gold, which weighed about 4000 pieces of eight, with 70 ſlaves, he gave to Nunez and Colmenares, who immediately began to weigh it, in order to ſet apart a fifth of the gold for the king, and to divide the reſt among themſelves; but ſome of the men quarrelling about the beſt and largeſt pieces, the

young prince ran to the ſcales, and ſtriking them with his double fiſt, threw all the gold upon the ground; ſaying, that they need not fall out about ſuch a trifle: but if they were ſo fond of it as to diſturb peaceable nations, and leave their native country to obtain it, he would ſhew them a province where they might have as much as their hearts could wiſh; but that there muſt be a greater number of them, as they were to oppoſe a monarch who defended his dominions with great bravery: that they would firſt meet with a cacique who had a vaſt quantity of what they looked upon as wealth, and was ſix ſuns, or ſix days journey, from thence, pointing with his finger towards the South Sea, which he told them they would ſee as ſoon as they paſſed certain lands. He added, that there were other nations who had boats with ſails and oars, and that beyond that ſea they would find an immenſe quantity of gold, formed into veſſels out of which theſe people eat and drank. And having underſtood from the Spaniards that there was great plenty of iron in Spain, he ſignified that there was more gold in thoſe parts than iron in Biſcay. This was the firſt intimation given them of the extenſive country of Peru, whither he offered to accompany them. This diſcourſe was interpreted by the two Spaniards who had fled from Nicueſſa, and lived with Careta.

After a ſhort ſtay in the dominions of Comagre, Nunez de Balboa returned to his government of Santa Maria, in order to conſider at his leiſure of the propereſt means of making theſe important diſcoveries.

Valdivia had by this time returned from Hiſpaniola, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that Diego Columbus would give him ſufficient ſupport. This induced Nunez to ſend him over a ſecond time with the ſame inſtructions as before; but with freſh

proofs of the ſervices he had rendered to the crown, and freſh preſents for thoſe whom he imagined moſt capable of ſupporting his intereſt: but the veſſel in which Valdivia attempted to ſail back to Hiſpaniola, was unfortunately ſhipwrecked in her paſſage on the coaſt of Yucatan, and the men with great difficulty got on ſhore, where they were quickly ſurrounded and made priſoners by the natives, who cruelly ſacrificed them to their idols; two only eſcaping, one of whom was Agullor, who was of ſuch great uſe to Cortes.

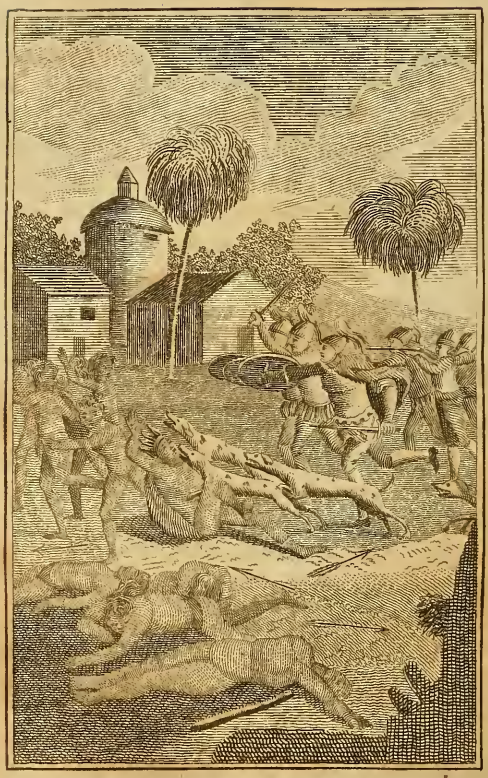
Nunez de Balboa was greatly afflicted at the news of this event, and, to prevent the ill conſequences that might ariſe from it, had ſome thoughts of going to Spain; but this the colony would not ſuffer, and he had ſoon ſufficient reaſon to believe that they judged right; for by the diſpatches he received from Zamudio, he was informed, that Euciſo had ſo incenſed the court againſt him, that there was no perſuading the miniſters, that he was not a villian who had in the higheſt degree trampled upon the royal authority.

Nunez de Balboa, having conſidered the contents of theſe letters, plainly ſaw that nothing could reſtore his character in Spain, but making an immediate uſe of the informations he had received, by perfecting his diſcoveries of larger and richer countries, than hitherto the Spaniards had been acquainted with. This he judged would cover all his paſt faults, and atone for every irregularity he had committed; and therefore, without communicating to the colony any of the particulars contained in his diſpatches, he perſuaded them to engage in ſuch an expedition, as the moſt likely means of rendering them all rich and happy; upon which they gladly embraced this propoſal.

CHAPTER II.

Nunez marches in order to diſcover the South Seas: obtains the friendſhip of the cacique Ponca: defeats Quarequa; and takes a view of the South Sea. He alſo defeats the cacique Chiapes, and afterwards obtains his friendſhip: takes a formal poſſeſſion of the South Sea, and its coaſts and iſlands, in behalf of the king of Spain; but in endevouring to navigate a bay, is in danger of being loſt with 80 other Spaniards. He afterwards oppoſes Tumaco, a powerful cacique; but, having obliged him to retire, concludes a peace with him, and obtains a great quantity of pearls and diamonds.

NUNEZ DE BALBOA having reſolved to march towards the South Sea, ſailed from Santa Maria about the middle of September 1513, as far as the territories of the Cacique Careta, who received him in a very friendly manner. He there left one of his brigantines and a canoe, and advanced towards the mountains belonging to Ponca, attended by a body of Careta's ſubjects. The Cacique Ponca being ſoon informed of the approach of the Spaniards, hid himſelf; when Nunez ſent ſome of the Spaniards belonging to Careta to aſſure him that he had nothing to fear, and that he only deſired his friendſhip; upon which Ponca came to meet him with a preſent of gold, to the value of 110 peſos, which was all he had. Nunez being ſenſible of the neceſſity of leaving no enemy behind him, received the Cacique with much joy, and gave him abundance of beads, hawk's bells, looking-glaſſes, and, what theſe Indians moſt valued, ſome iron axes; and then aſked him for guides, and men to carry burdens up the mountains.



The Cacique Quarequa & his Indians fall upon Nunez and his Spaniards but are defeated and great numbers torn to pieces by Dogs

The Cacique readily granted all he defired; and, having fupplied him with plenty of provifions, the Spaniards marched into the dominions of a great Lord named Quarequa, who was prepared to oppofe them. He having provided a great number of men armed with bows and arrows, and a kind of flings for throwing darts made of wood hardened in the fire. They had alfo clubs made of a very hard kind of wood, which they ufed with both hands. In this manner the Indians met the Spaniards, afking what they came for, and ordering them to proceed no farther; but obferving that they paid little regard to what they faid, the Cacique himfelf came forward, clothed in cotton, with fome of his principal men, all the reft being entirely naked, and immediately attacked the Spaniards with dreadful cries. Nunez inftantly ordered his foldiers to difcharge their fire-locks and crofs-bows; upon which fome dropped down dead: when the Indians feeing the fire, and hearing the report, naturally concluded that the Spaniards ufed thunder and lightning, and had a fupernatural power to deftroy them, they therefore fled in the utmoft conftternation. The Spaniards purfued, fetting their dogs upon them, which tore fome of them in pieces; while the Spaniards made a great flaughter with their fwords. In this engagement the Cacique himfelf was killed with about 600 of his people; fome were taken, and the town was plundered, in which the conquerors found a confiderable quantity of gold. Among the prifoners were the Cacique's brother, and fome others adorned like women; from which circumftance, Nunez judging that they were guilty of fodomy, without any other proof caufed them to be torn in pieces by the dogs.

As fome of the Spaniards were now grown fickly with hunger and fatigue, Nunez left them in the

town, which belonged to the late Cacique, where he took freſh guides, and men to carry burdens, diſmiſſing thoſe who belonged to Careta. He then proceeded towards the top of the mountains, which was at the diſtance of about ſix days journey; but in this progreſs he ſpent twenty-five, on account of the ruggedneſs of the way, and the difficulty of procuring proviſions. At length Nunez having notice given him that they were near the ſummit, commanded his men to halt, and going up alone, ſaw the South Sea; which he no ſooner viewed, than, falling on his knees, he returned thanks to heaven for being the firſt who had ſeen it. This done he called his men, and again falling on his knees, they followed his example, while the Indians ſtood amazed at ſeeing ſuch expreſſions of joy and wonder. Nunez then extolled the intelligence given him by Comagre's ſon, promiſing his men wealth and happineſs: they believed all he ſaid for he was extremely beloved, on account of his bravery, his compaſſion for the ſick and wounded, and his making no difference between himſelf and the meaneſt ſoldier. He then cauſed a certificate to be drawn of his having taken poſſeſſion of that ſea, and every thing in it for the crown of Caſtile; in teſtimony of which he cut down timber, erected croſſes, raiſed heaps of ſtones, and cut the king of Spain's name on ſome of the trees. This being done, he reſolved to go down the mountains to the ſea coaſt.

Nunez being informed that near this place there was another town, belonging to a Lord, whoſe name was Chiapes, advanced very cautiouſly; while that Cacique perceiving the ſmall number of the Spaniards, marched againſt them; but drawing near, the latter ſaluted them, firſt with their fire-arms, and then with their croſs-bows, after which they let looſe their dogs. The Indians ter-

rified at this reception, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, while the Spaniards purſued, and, having taken ſome priſoners, diſmiſſed a part of them with ſome of Quarequa's people, to aſſure Chiapes that they deſired his friendſhip. At this meſſage, that Cacique thought it ſafeſt to put himſelf into the hands of theſe dreadful enemies, and therefore waited upon them with the value of 400 pieces of eight in gold. Nunez received him very graciouſly, giving him beads, looking-glaſſes, and hatchets: and having here likewiſe given ſome trifles to Quarequa's Indians, he diſmiſſed them well pleaſed with their treatment.

Nunez now ſent captain Francis Pizarro, Juan Eſcarray, and Alonzo Martin, with twelve men under each, to find the ſhorteſt way to the ſea. Alonzo Martin diſcovering the readieſt road, came in two days to a place where he found two canoes upon dry land, yet ſaw no ſea; but while he was conſidering which way theſe canoes came thither, the tide flowed in, and ſoon lifted them up; for on that coaſt it ebbs and flows every ſix hours two or three fathoms, ſo that large ſhips are left dry, and no ſea water appears for at leaſt two or three leagues. Alonzo Martin ſeeing the canoes ſwim, went into one of them, and bid his companions bear witneſs that he was the firſt that entered the South Seas; another did the ſame, and bid them bear witneſs that he was the ſecond; after which they returned to carry this news to Nunez; who, upon receiving this intelligence, reſolved to proceed to the ſea ſide with the Cacique to try what farther diſcoveries could be made. On their reaching the ſhore, that Spaniſh commander marched on, armed as he was, until the water took him up to the middle; and then cauſed a notary to draw up an inſtrument, importing that he had taken poſſeſſion of that ſea, its coaſts, and the iſlands in

it, in behalf of the crown of Caſtile; at which ceremony the Indians were juſtly amazed.

He next paſſed the mouth of a great river, and landed on the oppoſite ſide in the territories of another Indian prince, whoſe name was Coura, and who at firſt endeavoured to make ſome reſiſtance; but finding it was in vain, he ſuffered his ſon to go and treat with them, and he himſelf ſoon after carried them a conſiderable preſent.

Nunez Balboa at length obſerving a large bay of the ſea, reſolved to navigate it, and therefore deſired the Indians to furniſh him with canoes; which they did, and offered to accompany him, though they at the ſame time adviſed him to ſuſpend this attempt, as the rains were coming on, and the bay was far from being ſafe; but he obſtinately refuſed to comply with this advice, and embarked with fourſcore Spaniards, together with Chiapes and ſome of his attendants, on board nine canoes.

They weighed anchor on the 29th of September; for which reaſon he called it St. Michael's Bay: but when they were at ſome diſtance from land, the waves began to ſwell ſo high that Nunez repented he had not taken the advice given him by Chiapes, and was ſoon in the utmoſt danger of periſhing; but the Indians had recourſe to their uſual remedy; and faſtening two canoes together with cords, to prevent their being overſet, made towards an iſland; where they landed, and faſtened their canoes to the rocks or trees. There they continued all the night in the utmoſt uneaſineſs; for upon the flood the whole iſland was covered with water, and they were obliged to ſtand in it almoſt up to their waiſts. When day appeared, and the water ebbed, they went in ſearch of their canoes, but found ſome of them beaten in pieces, others almoſt ſplit, and the reſt filled with water and ſand, and no part of their goods or proviſions

was to be found. In this diſtreſs they pulled off the tender bark of the young tree, and, bruiſing it with graſs and other herbs, caulked the crannies of ſuch of the canoes as were not ſtaved, and thus embarked, almoſt famiſhed with hunger.

They now ſteered towards the dominions of a Cacique named Tumaco, which lay in a creek of the bay, where they found him ready to oppoſe them. Nunez, perceiving his men weak and hungry, no ſooner landed, than he picked out a few of the ableſt of them, whom he placed in the front. The Spaniards began the engagement with their ſwords and dogs, with which they made great havock; and Tumaco himſelf being wounded, the reſt were obliged to retire. Soon after Chiapes ſent ſome of his men to let Tumaco know the power of the Spaniards, and the kindneſs they ſhewed to thoſe who were their friends. The Cacique, however, could not be perſuaded to believe their report; but a ſecond meſſenger prevailed ſo far, that he ſent his ſon, whom Nunez entertained very courteouſly, giving him a ſhirt and ſome toys, and adviſing him to perſuade his father to come himſelf, and have a ſhare in his friendſhip. Upon which Tumaco went, attended by many of his ſubjects, but carried no preſent. However, Nunez treated him with much reſpect, and Chiapes obſerved to him, that he thought it but reaſonable that he ſhould aſſiſt the Spaniards on account of their being ſtrangers.

The Cacique being now pacified, and loſing all his apprehenſions, ſent ſome of his ſervants home, who brought gold to the value of 614 pieces of eight, and, what was much more extraordinary, 240 fine large pearls, with many others, that were bright, though ſmall. At this ſight Nunez and his men were filled with joy, believing the immenſe treaſures Comagre's ſon had mentioned

were now at hand. The large pearls were of great value, and would have been of ſtill greater, had not the Indians uſed fire in opening the oyſters, which rendered them not ſo white as they naturally are. Tumaco obſerving that the pearls gave the Spaniards ſuch joy, ſhewed that he himſelf ſet but little value on them, by ſending ſome Indians to fiſh, who, within four days, brought as many as weighed no leſs than 96 ounces. Both the Spaniards and Indians were much pleaſed; the former with the proſpect of immenſe wealth; and the latter, eſpecially the Caciques, at obtaining the friendſhip of the Spaniards for what they eſteemed at ſo cheap a rate as pearls and gold. But Chiapes rejoiced moſt, on account of his being inſtrumental in gaining Tumaco's friendſhip.

Theſe two Caciques aſſured Nunez, that there was a country in that bay, about five leagues from thence, governed by a powerful Cacique, where there was abundance of large oyſters, which contained pearls as big as beans. Upon which Nunez ordered the canoes to be immediately got ready; but the Caciques intreated him not to think of ſuch an expedition at that time; but to ſtay till ſummer, when the ſea was calm, and he might go with eaſe, and then they promiſed to go with him. Nunez approving of this advice, Tumaco added, that the coaſt extended a prodigious way, pointing to Peru: that there was an immenſe quantity of gold, and that the natives uſed certain beaſts to carry their burdens, which were the ſheep of that country: he even made the repreſentation of them in clay. The Spaniards were amazed; ſome ſaid they were camels, and others that they were fallow deer, of which there are many on the continent, about as big as ſmall calves, but their horns are ſmall, and their legs ſhort in proportion to their bodies.

CHAPTER III.

Nunez ſends another Agent to the Court of Spain, with a rich preſent to the Biſhop of Burgos, who had before appointed Pedrarias Governor of Golden Caſtile. This new Governor cruelly perſecutes Nunez de Balboa, and treats the Indians with the utmoſt inhumanity, which forces them to take up arms againſt him. Nunez, however, cauſes a peace to be reſtored, builds a Town on the South Sea, and is at laſt beheaded.

ABOUT the middle of January, Nunez returned to Santa Maria carrying with him gold to a very great value, and pearls to a much greater; of which he made a very equitable diviſion, reſerving the fifth part for the King, and diſtributing the reſt among the ſoldiers, in ſuch a manner that they were perfectly ſatisfied with his conduct. He now judged with great appearance of reaſon, that the ſignal ſervices he had performed, rendered it impoſſible for the Miniſters to deny that he had made amends for any indiſcretions into which he had fallen; he therefore reſolved to ſend another Agent to Spain with the king's money, and with more conſiderable preſents than it was in his power to ſend by the former, and therefore ſent on this important meſſage Pedro Abolanchos a perſon of capacity, and what was ſtill of greater conſequence, of unſhaken integrity and fidelity.

On this perſon's arrival at court, he applied himſelf to the famous biſhop of Burgos, who received his letters with civility, which changed into the greateſt kindneſs and friendſhip, upon his ſeeing the pearls and gold ſent him by Nunez; for theſe fully convinced him of his innocence, and

of his being a good and faithful officer. He therefore took great pains to vindicate him to king Ferdinand, who had hitherto a great averſion to Nunez de Balboa: but the favours of this prelate came too late; for he himſelf had already done this unhappy man ſuch an injury as he was unable to repair. It was a maxim with this biſhop, that nothing was ſo dangerous as ſuffering the great men who made diſcoveries in America, to perfect them; and therefore as ſoon as they had opened the road to the new countries, and had overcome the firſt, which are always the greateſt difficulties, it was his conſtant method to ſend ſome of his own creatures to reap the fruits of their labours.

Before the arrival of Nunez's agent, he had choſen Pedro Arias d'Avila Governor of Caſtillo del Oro, whom the Spaniſh writers, by joining his two firſt names, commonly called Pedrarias. He was a man of birth, and of a court education, but proud, haughty, inſincere, barbarous, and unjuſt; cruel beyond expreſſion; and one who thought the only compenſation that could be made for leaving his native country, was his raiſing a vaſt fortune; which, as he wanted abilities to do in an honeſt way, he reſolved to bring about by the methods he underſtood, which were violence, fraud, and oppreſſion; in all which he was a complete maſter. We have his character drawn to the life, by the hand of the humane and worthy biſhop of Chiapa, who repreſents him as the moſt wicked monſter that was ever ſent into thoſe parts.

This new governor ſailed from Spain, on the 12th of April, 1514, with a fleet of fifteen ſail, on board of which were 2000 ſoldiers, a friar, John de Quevedo, who, before his departure, had been conſecrated biſhop of Darien, with many other perſons in great offices, among whom was Enciſo, the mortal enemy of Nunez, who was Pedrarias's

provoſt-marſhal. This fleet arrived in the gulph of Uraba, in the latter end of July, and thence proceeded to Santa Maria, where the commander was received with all imaginable reſpect by Nunez de Balboa.

Pedrarias was very much ſurprized at the late governor's appearance, and at the ſtate in which he found the colony. There was indeed a very ſtrong fort, and 450 brave fellows to defend it; but Nunez's houſe, or, if you will, his palace, conſiſted but of three rooms, and his dreſs correſponded with his dwelling; he had a pair of canvas drawers, and a cotton waiſtcoat over his ſhirt, and that was all. His diet was of a piece with the reſt; for a joint of roaſt pork, ſome greens and fruit, were all his table afforded; at which no other liquor was drank than good ſpring water. Such were the manners of this conqueror, who fared no better than the meaneſt of his ſoldiers; but there was no murmuring, no complaints; he maintained his authority by the means with which he had acquired it; that is, by his merit; while his ſoldiers loved and feared him as a father. His only fault was his ambition, that had led him to do ſome unwarrantable things in order to obtain power; but when he had once acquired it, none uſed it better. His accounts were clear; he made good every point he had written to Spain; and proved that he had opened a paſſage to the South Seas; in return for which good ſervices, Pedrarias committed him cloſe priſoner to the cuſtody of Enciſo, and did not ſet him at liberty till he had fined him in above half his fortune.

In order to juſtify this proceeding, he ſent over a very falſe report to the court of Spain, expecting that this would have procured him authority for going greater lengths; but he was miſtaken. He had brought over ſome honeſt men with him,

who ventured to ſend the naked truth to court, and it met with all the credit it deſerved.

In anſwer to theſe repreſentations, Pedrarias received freſh advices from his Majeſty, in which the King declared, that he was perfectly ſatisfied with the conduct of Nunez de Balboa, and had created him Lord Lieutenant of the countries on the South Seas; that his Majeſty expected that the Governor ſhould take his advice, and that the meaſure of his obedience to his royal orders would appear from the reſpect he ſhewed to Nunez de Balboa. Pedrarias, equally diſpleaſed and diſappointed, took care to conceal his inſtructions; and, like a true courtier, reſolved in appearance to conform to his maſter's order; but, in effect, to diſobey them, and to leave no means untried to procure the deſtruction of the man he hated.

In order to leſſen the character of his predeceſſor, and to raiſe his own, Pedrarias ſent ſeveral of his officers to make excurſions into the country; which he thought muſt produce new diſcoveries, as indeed they did: but theſe were neither to the advantage of the colony, nor to the crown of Spain, ſince they only contributed to ſhew the avarice and cruelty of the Spaniards in the moſt glaring light. His officers knew that the only means to obtain his favour and protection, was to make him large preſents, and to plunder all the Caciques without mercy; ſo that in a few months time, that reputation for honeſty and kind uſage, which Nunez de Balboa had been at ſome pains to eſtabliſh, was entirely loſt, and a war between them and the natives broke out afreſh with greater fury than ever, ſo that there were no great hopes of his making any progreſs; which when he came ſeriouſly to conſider, he entered upon a new ſcheme, and, by the aſſiſtance of biſhop Quevedo, became reconciled to Nunez, who very ſincerely applied himſelf

as formerly to the public ſervice, and that with his uſual ſucceſs.

This, however, only ſerved to raiſe the envy of Pedrarias, even though he had promiſed to give Nunez his daughter, and publicly called and treated him as his ſon. He had employed him in raiſing a town, eſtabliſhing a port, and building ſhips on the South Seas; all which, with incredible labour and fatigue, he at length accompliſhed; and this added to the great reputation he had before acquired. Pedrarias ſeeing this, and finding that moſt of the people in his government were inclined to remove and ſettle in the town built by Nunez de Balboa, as ſoon as it ſhould be finiſhed, reſolved no longer to delay removing out of the way a man whoſe ſuperiority became more and more conſpicuous; and for this purpoſe ſent for him to Santa Maria.

Nunez de Balboa, relying upon his own innocence, and thinking it out of the Governor's power to hurt him, made no difficulty of obeying his orders; but immediately upon his arrival, Pedrarias commenced a freſh proſecution againſt him, on the ſame pretences for which he had fined him before, to which he had added another very extraordinary accuſation; a treaſonable intention to uſurp the King's domain, founded upon nothing more than his having cut down, without the Governor's licence, ſome timber for erecting public edifices; and, to the amazement of the colony, and the terror of the inhabitants, he upon this charge, condemned him to ſuffer death, and actually cauſed this unfortunate gentleman to be publicly beheaded.

Such was the fate of Vaſquez Nunez de Balboa, who, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, ſuffered as a traitor, for having ſerved his prince with too much zeal and fidelity. This happened in the year 1517, and in the third of Pedrarias's govern-

ment. The Royal audience of St. Domingo, however, condemned this action as a downright murder; but Pedrarias does not ſeem to have been ever called to an account for it; but, on the contrary, was permitted to go on in the ſame baſe and barbarous track, for many years together.

CHAPTER IV.

Pedrarias builds the city of Panama, and engages in a long and unſucceſsful war with the Cacique Urraca. The Court of Spain being at length wearied out with complaints againſt him, ſends a new governor; upon which he retires to Nicaragua, when, under the form of juſtice, he murders Francis Hernandez, who had made a conqueſt of that province.

PEDRARIAS, having thus, at the expence of law and juſtice, freed himſelf from a man whom he at once both feared and hated, reſolved to ſettle a new colony on the coaſt of the South Seas, though that place, from the heat and moiſture of the adjacent country, was very unwholeſome; but it was a place commodious for trade, and very convenient for forming new diſcoveries. He there built a palace, and made it the ſeat of his government; which inducing others to chooſe it for the place of their reſidence, it ſoon increaſed in the number of its inhabitants, and was pretty well fortified.

This city, which received the name of Panama, may deſerve an account of its preſent ſtate. It is but of a ſmall circumference, on account of a moraſs that incloſes it on one ſide; and the damps which ariſe from the moraſs, render the place ſo

very unhealthy, that there are few inhabitants, except traders, who generaly ſtay there no longer than is neceſſary to acquire a ſufficient fortune to enable them to leave it. A river runs near the city, and in its neighbourhood is a large diſtrict, in which are many farms, and great numbers of black cattle. It abounds in the fruits of the country; as pine-apples, plantanes, and guavas; beſides which ſeveral ſorts of Spaniſh fruits have been introduced. The rivers in its neighbourhood afforded great quantities of gold, when the city was built, but neither wheat nor barley grow within its neighbourhood; however, it is ſupplied with maize from Peru. Both the rivers and the ſea abound with fiſh; and near the houſes along the coaſt, are vaſt quantities of cockles; on which account the Spaniards ſuppoſe Pedrarias choſe this ſpot, as they would be ſome ſupply in a time of ſcarcity. In the rivers of this province are vaſt numbers of alligators of a monſtrous ſize, which have devoured many of the Spaniards and Indians.

But to return; though Pedrarias had a ſtrong deſire to diſtinguiſh himſelf by doing ſomething great, yet, in the ſpace of eight or nine years, he did little or nothing; for his vices defeated his ſchemes, and rendered all his undertakings abortive. Inſtead of treating the Indian Caciques, as his predeceſſor Nunez had done, with civility and juſtice, he behaved towards them like an imperious maſter, and yet was unable to extort half the quantity of gold that had been freely beſtowed on Balboa in preſents. He granted licences to various perſons to undertake diſcoveries, but on ſuch hard terms, and with ſo many reſtrictions, that they had no better ſucceſs than himſelf, and all their endeavours had no other effect than to waſte great numbers of men, and to bring an odium upon theſe expeditions.

But what chiefly employed the care of Pedrarias was reducing Urraca, a cacique of the mountains, whoſe country was very rich in gold, and who, after the death of Nunez, would have nothing to do with the Spaniards; preſuming, he ſaid, they could mean no good to others, who murdered and perſecuted one another. The governor made war upon him for five years together, and in that time deſtroyed a great number of his ſubjects, without being able to ſubdue or render him tributary; on the contrary, this cacique was frequently too hard for the Spaniards; his ſubjects were ſtout and warlike, and the ſituation of his country gave him ſuch advantages, that the Spaniards could never act againſt him with their horſe. He was a brave and enterprizing prince, had great good ſenſe, and foreſaw advantages as ſoon as any man, and there were few who could manage them better. Pedrarias therefore loſt more men in the courſe of this war, than Cortes in the conqueſt of Mexico, without even gaining a foot of land, or an ounce of gold; but he made himſelf amends by the grievous extortions he committed among the caciques who had ſubmitted to the Spaniards; and, with the gold he forced from them, maintained ſo great an intereſt at court, that, notwithſtanding every enterprize in which he engaged was attended with loſs, yet every new project he ſent over, was applauded.

This was the more extraordinary, as no man ever met with more oppoſition than he did; for, on the one hand, he was hated to the laſt degree by the Indians, for whoſe ſake the Biſhop of Chiapa had the humanity to go in perſon to Madrid to ſolicit relief. The Spaniſh officers, who were uneaſy under his government, ſent home a true repreſentation of his conduct, which was ſuch as would have ruined the fortune of any other man.

Beſides all this, he was upon very bad terms with the royal audience at St. Domingo, which was then, what it ſtill is, the ſupreme tribunal in the Weſt-Indies; and the chief reaſon for his removing the ſeat of his government from Santa Maria to Panama, was, that he might be farther out of their reach.

However, about the beginning of the year 1526, the court of Spain, wearied with continual complaints againſt him, was at length reſolved to ſend him a ſucceſſor. Pedrarias was informed of this reſolution, and, as he knew no means of avoiding his coming, and was very loth to part with his power, he began to caſt about in his own mind where to find another eſtabliſhment. There was only one expedition under any of his creatures which had met with ſucceſs, and that the conqueſt of Nicaragua by Francis Hernandez, who acted under his licence, and the governor had alſo been at ſome expence in fitting him out. He reſolved therefore to retire into this country, in order to ſecure it for himſelf, though it of right belonged to him who had ſubdued it; and alſo to avoid delivering up his province to his ſucceſſor in perſon, for fear he ſhould treat him as he himſelf had done Nunez. One would have imagined, that, when his affairs were in this ſituation, he would have abated ſomewhat of his cruelty; but, whether he had no power over his temper, or knew that he had ſtill intereſt enough at court to prevent his being called to an account for murder, he committed one more baſe and barbarous, if poſſible, than that of Nunez de Balboa.

On his entering the new province, he pretended that he had received information that his deputy intended to revolt, and therefore ſent for him to anſwer to the charge: Francis Hernandez came with that boldneſs which is natural to innocence;

but Pedrarias no ſooner had him in his power, than he cauſed his head to be ſtruck off; alleging that there was no other way for a government to be ſafe againſt perſons in power, when their fidelity was once ſuſpected. Yet, as black and heinous as this fact was, he not only eſcaped being called to an account for it, but was confirmed in his goverment of Nicaragua, as if the gratification of his own cruel diſpoſition had been an indiſputable proof of his zeal and attachment to the crown of Spain.

THE

CONQUEST OF PERU,

BY FRANCIS PIZARRO.

CHAPTER I.

Francis Pizarro, with the aſſiſtance of two other perſons, undertakes the Diſcovery of Peru, but meets with many hardſhips, till at length meeting with a particular account of the riches of the country of which he is in ſearch, he returns to Panama, but being oppoſed by the Governor, embarks for Spain.

THE reader has ſeen, in the preceding chapters, that Vaſquez Nunez de Balboa was the firſt Spaniard who formed the project of making diſcoveries on the South Sea, and the deſire of wreſting the execution of it out of his hands, was the principal motive that induced Pedrarias to take away his life. But when all the expeditions undertaken by this cruel monſter had failed, three perſons in the year 1524, offered to engage in this undertaking at their own expence, provided they might be allowed fair and equitable terms. To this propoſal Pedrarias readily liſtened, believing that he ran no hazard in complying with their requeſt, ſince, if they miſcarried, he ſhould not loſe

any thing, and if they ſucceeded, he hoped that he ſhould be able to ſecure the fruits of their enterprize.

The principal of theſe three perſons was Francis Pizarro, who has been already mentioned more than once. He was a native of Truxillo, a town in the province of Eſtramadura in Spain; and ſome of the Spaniſh writers ſay he was a nobleman by birth; while others maintain that he was the illegitimate ſon of Gonzalo Pizarro, an officer at Truxillo, who ſuffered him to be expoſed as a foundling at a church door; however, being diſcovered to be the father, he was obliged to ſupport him; but giving him no manner of education, he made him ſpend his youth in the moſt ſervile offices, and in particular in keeping his hogs. Young Pizarro however, at length ran away from the herd, and, entering on board a ſhip, ſailed to the Weſt Indies, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bold and enterpriſing diſpoſition, in the wars of Hiſpaniola and Cuba, and obtained a commiſſion; he at length ſailed with Hojeda to the gulph of Darien, and afterwards ſerved under Nunez de Balboa, and, having acquired a handſome fortune, had, on the firſt building of Panama, ſettled in that city, where he ſeemed diſpoſed to ſpend the remainder of his life in peace, till the thirſt of gold incited him to engage in this undertaking, and afterwards prompted him to commit actions that rendered him a diſgrace to human nature.

The ſecond of theſe adventurers was Diego de Almagro, who took his name from the place of his birth; for his origin was ſo obſcure, that no hiſtorian has been able to diſcover who was his father.

The third was Ferdinando de Luques, or, as he is ſometimes called, de Lugne, who, as well as both the former, was advanced in years. This

man, who was a prieſt, had much the largeſt fortune; he was proprietor of the iſland of Tobago, had a good eſtate beſides, and a conſiderable ſum in ready money.

This partnerſhip made much noiſe, as nothing could be more ſingular than for three private men to raiſe a joint ſtock for conquering a great empire; and this, like other projects, was treated as a wild and viſionary ſcheme that would infalliably end in the ruin of the projectors: but, without regarding the opinions of the world, they ſolemnly promiſed each other, that no dangers nor diſapointments ſhould make them lay aſide their enterprize, and that they would make equal diviſion of the wealth they ſhould acquire, after having firſt deducted the Emperor's dues, and all expences. To each of them was aſſigned a particular part in the conqueſt of Peru: Francis Pizarro was to command the party that went upon the diſcovery; Almagro was to carry him recruits, and to reinforce him from time to time; and Ferdinand de Luques was to ſtay at Panama, to provide ammunition and proviſions for the uſe of thoſe engaged in the expedition.

Theſe articles being agreed upon, they repaired ſolemnly to high maſs, which was celebrated by the prieſt Ferdinando de Luques, who, having broke the wafer into three pieces, took the firſt himſelf, and gave the others to his companions, as a token that they would purſue their preſent project with no leſs eagerneſs than if their eternal happineſs depended upon it. They took care to make the beſt enquiries they could into the cauſes of all the former miſcarriages, in order the better to avoid them; and were very aſſiduous in finding out perſons who had been employed in the preceding expeditions, that they might reap the benefit of their experience.

About the middle of November, 1524, Pizarro embarked in a new ſhip, with 114 men, officers included, and proceeded to an iſland, about five leagues diſtant from Panama, whence he ſailed to the Pearl iſlands in the midſt of the bay, where he took in wood and water, with hay for 4 horſes he had on board; and then proceeded 100 leagues to the ſouthward, landed at Port Pinas, upon the continent, on the ſouth ſide of the bay of Panama, and endeavoured to penetrate into the country, but the people having fled from their habitations, and meeting with nothing but bogs and mountains, without any proſpect of proviſions, he proceeded farther down the coaſt; but finding there the ſame inconveniences, and perceiving the rainy ſeaſon coming on, and that many of his men died by ſickneſs, fatigue and want of proviſions, he ſent the ſhip to the Iſle of Pearls, to procure freſh ſupplies.

Mean while, Pizarro was joined by Almagro, with two ſhips, and ſixty recruits; when notwithſtanding the unhealthineſs of the climate, they continued on the coaſt, and had many ſkirmiſhes with the natives, in one of which Almagro loſt an eye; but happening in ſome of theſe excurſions to meet with gold to the value of 14,000 or 15,000 crowns, they reſolved, in ſpite of all the hazards and difficulties they encountered, to proceed on the enterprize; to which they were encouraged by their pilot, who, while they were on ſhore, had run down as far as Cape Paſſaro, under the equator, where he ſeized ſome priſoners, who made him ſenſible that the treaſures of Peru, greatly ſurpaſſed whatever had been reported of them.

When the pilot returned with this agreeable news, he found Pizarro greatly reduced; all his money being exhauſted, his men ſick, and Alma-

gro gone to Panama with the gold they had taken to procure another reinforcement of troops and proviſions.

Almagro raiſed forty recruits, and having purchaſed ſome horſes, arms, clothes, proviſions, and medicines, returned to Pizarro, where the greateſt part of his men being ſick or dead, they removed from that unhealthy part of the continent to the iſland of Gallo, where having ſtaid about fifteen days, they ran ſtill farther to the ſouthward; but found the weather continue ſo bad, and the country ſo much under water, that Pizarro himſelf began to deſpair of ſucceſs; and ſo hot was the diſpute about continuing the enterprize, that the two commanders were on the point of drawing their ſwords; but at length it was agreed, that they ſhould return to the iſland of Gallo, where Pizarro was to remain with his men, until Almagro went to Panama for recruits. Many of the ſoldiers deſired to go along with him; but this was abſolutely refuſed; and, as ſeveral of the ſoldiers had threatened to complain to the governor, that ſending them on this expedition was devoting them to deſtruction, great care was taken to prevent their ſending letters. However, one of them found means to ſend a paper, ſubſcribed by moſt of them, repreſenting their hardſhips, and deſiring to be recalled; which was ſo artfully incloſed in a bottom of cotton yarn, that it eſcaped the vigilance of the officers, and came ſafely to the hands of the new governor; for Pedrarias was now removed from his government, and ſucceeded by Pedro los Rios, who was ſo far from ſuffering Almagro to raiſe more recruits, that he ſent a meſſage with a commiſſary to the iſland of Gallo, to bring back all the men who ſurvived.

The arrival of this ſhip greatly mortified Pizarro, who intreated the commiſſary to allow ſuch

of the men to ſtay with him as voluntarily choſe it; which being granted, he drew a line with the point of his ſword, and haranguing his men, told them they were at liberty, if they thought fit, to return to Panama; but that he was grieved at the thought of their now abandoning ſo glorious a proſpect, when they were on the point of reaping the reward of all their ſufferings. That, for his part, he would periſh in the glorious undertaking rather than deſert it; and thoſe who voluntarily ſtaid, ſhould ſhare with him the treaſures which fell into his hands. He then deſired thoſe who were willing to proceed, to come over the line he had drawn. But ſo great were the ſufferings of theſe poor men, that only thirteen men and a mulatto came over; while the reſt, embarking with the commiſſary, returned to Panama.

Pizarro's affairs were now in a moſt wretched ſituation, for he was not only deprived of the hopes of performing any thing remarkable at preſent, but had a very indifferent proſpect with reſpect to futurity. In this diſtreſs, which he concealed in his own breaſt, he retired with a few daring fellows, who reſolved to follow his deſperate fortune, to the iſland of Gorgona for a ſupply of water, and ſtaid there till he was joined by Almagro, with a few volunteers, whom he had, with ſome difficulty, perſuaded to engage in this expedition.

With theſe men they left Gorgona, and ſailed along the coaſt till they found themſelves in 30 ſouth latitude, having ſpent about two years in a voyage which, now the current and trade winds are known, is performed in as many weeks. In this paſſage, however, they took ſeveral Indian veſſels of conſiderable value, and obtained ſuch intelligence of the wealth of the coaſt, that Pizarro reſolved to ſend Pedro de Candia, a man of good

ſenſe, and agreeable addreſs, to penetrate as far as he could into Tumbez, in order to learn whether the information he had received were true.

Pedro rendered himſelf agreeable to the Indians, and by his good conduct was enabled to execute his commiſſion in the completeſt manner. He returned ſafe to Pizarro; aſſured him that the country exceeded all imagination; that the wealth and ſplendor of the people, and the grandeur of their public edifices were incredible, and that great art and ſkill were viſible in theſe ſtructures, which were ſo rich, that the very walls were covered with gold and ſilver.

Upon this report Pizarro called a council of his people, when, after much deliberation, it was reſolved to return to Panama, and being enabled to give an account of the prodigious advantages to be reaped from an expedition made in a proper manner to Peru, it was to be hoped they ſhould find people who were willing to embark in ſuch an advantageous undertaking, and obtain ſuch ſupplies as would enſure their ſucceſs.

However, ſailing a few leagues farther along the coaſt, they made Payta, to which Pizarro gave the name of Santa Cruz: and finding this one of the beſt harbours they had obſerved on the coaſt of Peru, they caſt anchor, and going aſhore, found the natives extremely civil, and willing to take the trifles they had to give them, in exchange for proviſions. They weighed from this place, leaving a Spaniard, named Alphonſo de Molina, who had ſeparated from them on ſhore; but ſoon after returning, he came on board in one of the floats of that country, and told them that he had been entertained with great civility by a woman of diſtinction, who was very deſirous of ſeeing the ſhip. Soon after, the ſame woman ſent other floats to pilot them into a ſafe part of the harbour.

Upon which Pizarro ſent Molina, with three other gentlemen, to invite this Peruvian lady on board; and ſhe coming, he treated her in the moſt elegant manner his circumſtances would admit. In return, ſhe invited Pizarro on ſhore, and the next morning at his landing, received him with a great retinue, and conducted him and his attendants to an arbor; where ſhe entertained him at dinner, and afterwards with ſeveral Indian diverſions.

It is pretended that Pizarro not only thanked this Peruvian lady for her great civilities; but made her a long ſpeech, in which he repreſented the excellencies of the Chriſtian religion, and the errors of idolatry; exhorting her and her friends to ſubmit to the king of Spain, the moſt powerful monarch upon earth; and that the Peruvians anſwered in general terms, that they were ſatisfied with the religion of their anceſtors, and knew of none who ought to command their allegiance, but their own lawful Inca; but it does not appear that Pizarro had yet any opportunity of learning the Peruvian language.

However, the Spaniards returning on board, ſailed back to Panama, where they arrived towards the end of the year 1527, with ſeveral large pieces of gold, three Indian boys whom Pizarro intended to educate for interpreters, and ſome Peruvian ſheep. Thoſe who had before ridiculed this expedition as abſurd and ruinous, now confeſſed their error, and were deſirous of partaking of its advantages; but Pizarro being oppoſed by the governor, who refuſed to allow his levying more men, and finding it neceſſary that he ſhould be ſupported by an authority ſuperior to his own, he, with the conſent of his partners, embarked for Old Spain, to ſolicit the Emperor's protection, and ſuch powers as were neceſſary for promoting their ſchemes.

CHAPTER II.

Pizarro arrives in Spain, and meets with a favourable Reception from Charles V. who grants him Commiſſions and Powers for purſuing his Conqueſts. He returns to Panama, whence he continues his courſe to St. Mathew's Bay, where he attacks the defenceleſs Indians without Provocation, which occaſions his being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. He lands at Tumbez, in ſpite of the Inhabitants, who, being terrified at his cannon and horſes, fly farther into the country, leaving behind them immenſe riches, which are ſeized by Pizarro, who builds a fort upon the coaſt.

PIZARRO arrived without any remarkable accident at Seville, whence he proceeded to the court of the emperor Charles V. where he met with a very gracious reception, on his preſenting his Majeſty with ſome Peruvians in their proper habits, ſeveral gold and ſilver veſſels of the faſhion of the country, and two or three Peruvian ſheep. The Emperor took great pleaſure in hearing him relate the difficulties he had met with in his ſearch for Peru, and referred him to the council of the Indies, who ordered him to proceed in the conqueſt of that Empire, as far as 200 leagues to the ſouthward of Tumbez, which is at the bottom of the bay of Guiaquil. He alſo obtained the titles of Governor and Captain General, with the offices of Adelantado, or Lieutenant, and of Alguazil Major or Chief-Juſtice of Peru. This was directly contrary to his agreement with his partners; he having promiſed to obtain the ſecond of theſe titles for Almagro, and the laſt for his pilot, who had ſerved him with great fidelity and ſkill. However,

he obtained for Ferdinando de Luques the title of Protector-General of the Peruvians, with the Emperor's promiſe of recommending him to the Pope to be made Biſhop of Tumbez, of which place Almagro was however nominated Governor, with the title of Don; his baſtard ſon was legitimated; beſides, of the 13 men who remained with Pizarro in his diſtreſs on the iſland of Gallo, thoſe who were gentlemen, had the honour of knighthood; and ſuch as were not, were raiſed to the rank of gentlemen.

Theſe Commiſſions were granted at Toledo on the 26th of July 1528, and ſix Dominican Fryars were ordered to go over with Pizarro, as miſſionaries to aſſiſt in the converſion of the Peruvians; but though the Emperor hoped to obtain conſiderable advantages from this expedition, he did not advance a ſingle piece of money for the ſervice.

Pizarro having thus ſettled the affairs which brought him to Spain, paid a viſit to Truxillo, the place of his birth, where he found that his father had been many years married to a woman of a good family, and had three ſons grown up to man's eſtate, Ferdinand, Gonzalo, and Juan; and that his mother had been married to a farmer, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Francis Martin de Alcantara; theſe entered into his ſervice, and, being greatly beloved in the neighbourhood, made great diſpatch in providing whatever he wanted; which having effected, he embarked with them at Seville, in the month of January, 1530, and ſafely arrived at Nombre de Dios, on the coaſt of Terra Firma; from whence he marched with his people over land to the city of Panama, where Almagro was ſo diſguſted at his having engroſſed all the honour and authority himſelf, that he refuſed to aſſiſt him in the intended expedition, till Pizarro promiſed to relinquiſh the title of Adelantado, and

to give him an equal ſhare in whatever they ſhould acquire. Upon wh ch conceſſions Almagro agreed to aſſiſt him as formerly; but though he, for the preſent, ſmothered his reſentment, yet he never heartily forgave him.

Three ſhips being prepared at Panama, on board of which were 125 ſoldiers, 37 horſes, with arms, ammunition, and ſtores, Pizarro ſet ſail from that city; but meeting contrary winds, he found it impoſſible to keep the ſea with his horſes on board, and therefore came to an anchor above one hundred leagues to the northward of Tumbez, at a place which he called St. Matthew's Bay. He had here the inhumanity to attack the natives without the leaſt provocation, and to make many of them priſoners, when the reſt flying into the country, he plundered their towns, in which he found immenſe treaſures; for theſe people, being honeſt themſelves, had no ſuſpicion of the Spaniards, and therefore took no care of hiding any thing from them.

By this cruel conduct Pizarro ſoon became diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; and loſing many of his men by ſickneſs, and the hardſhips they endured in marching through bogs, and thickets of mangroves, his forces were greatly diminiſhed; beſides many of his people contracted a kind of diſorder, which they imputed to the water then drank being poiſoned; for their faces and bodies were ſuddenly covered with warts, that were extremely painful, and when they were cut off, ſome of the men bled to death. He now too late perceived his error, in not courting the friendſhip of the natives; and being in no condition to make a conqueſt of Peru with the forces he had left, ſent back his ſhips to Panama to raiſe more recruits. He alſo ſent to the ſame place 30 000 peſoes in gold, with a great number of emeralds, and might

have ſent many more, had it not been for the folly of ſome of his people, who were ſo ſtupid as to break them in pieces with hammers, in order to try if they were not as hard as diamonds.

Francis Pizarro reſolved to continue in action till the arrival of his recruits, and, having, in ſome meaſure informed himſelf of the ſtate of the country, thought he might take ſome advantage of the diſputes which ſubſiſted between the Tumbezenes, and the inhabitants of Puna, a neighbouring iſland, by making friends of the latter. He therefore continued his march towards Tumbez, keeping the ſea ſtill in ſight, till coming near the above iſland, he paſſed over to it with his men; however, diſagreeing with theſe iſlanders, he attacked and routed them. This he flattered himſelf would have opened the way for his contracting a cloſe alliance with the Tumbezenes; becauſe finding 600 of the latter, with one of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the city, priſoners to the inhabitants of Puna, he ſent them to Tumbez with three of his own people. But, if the Spaniſh writers are to be credited, the Tumbezenes had the ingratitude and cruelty, to ſacrifice theſe three men to their idols; however, as Pizarro was ignorant of this circumſtance, he ſtill regarded the Tumbezenes as his allies, upon whoſe aſſiſtance he might conſtantly depend.

In the mean time, Almagro ſending Pizarro a conſiderable reinforcement from Panama, and Ferdinand de Soto, and other adventurers, alſo arriving with troops from Nicaragua, he thought himſelf in a condition to carry on the war upon the continent, eſpecially as he had ſome reaſon to expect, that he ſhould be ſupported by the Tumbezenes. Accordingly, having provided a ſufficient number of floats, he tranſported his troops to Tumbez; but loſt ſome of his men on his land-

ing, ſome floats being overſet by the ſurf which beat upon the ſhore, and, to his great ſurprize, ſeveral of his people were attacked and cut off by his ſuppoſed friends.

The Spaniſh writers have given different reaſons for this behaviour in the Tumbezenes: ſome relate, that the natives obſerving that the Spaniards had enſlaved the inhabitants of Puna, ſubverted their religion and government, demoliſhed their temples, and every thing they held ſacred, expected to be treated in the ſame manner; and therefore thought themſelves obliged to oppoſe their landing. But others inform us, that while the Spaniards were engaged in the reduction of Puna, a very great alteration happened in the affairs of the continent: Atahualpa, or, as he is generally called, Atabaliba, had defeated the forces of his brother Hueſcar, the emperor, cut in pieces moſt of the inhabitants of Tumbez, and the neighbouring provinces, for adhering to him, and that the troops which oppoſed Pizarro's landing, where thoſe detached by Atabaliba to that province, in order to repel the invaſion of the Spaniards.

But whatever were the motives of their oppoſing the deſcent of theſe ſtrangers, they were thrown into ſuch confuſion by the Spaniſh horſe and artillery, that they fled as the Spaniards advanced; and, after ſeveral thouſands of them had been ſlaughtered, were forced to abandon not only the city and caſtle, but even the whole valley of Tumbez, and to leave behind them all their gold and ſilver plate, emeralds, pearls, and other rich ſpoils which lay heaped up in the temple of the Sun and the Inca's palace, and were of ſuch immenſe value, that the Spaniards could ſcarcely believe their eyes, on their finding them ſo ſuddenly in their poſſeſſion; and ſo great was the conſternation of

the Inca Atabaliba, and his whole court, when the fugitives related the ſlaughter made by the thunderer's ordnance, and the impoſſibility of eſcaping the Spaniſh horſes, that they concluded, if the Spaniards were not Gods, as they at firſt conjectured, they were certainly devils, and that it was impoſſible for any human force to oppoſe them.

Pizarro ſoon received intelligence of the terror he had ſpread through the Inca's court, of which he reſolved to take advantage as ſoon as poſſible; He, however, thought proper to defer his march, till he had erected a ſlight fortreſs, that might ſerve him as a place of retreat and ſecurity, and in which the recruits he expected might be quartered. He accordingly built one upon the ſea-coaſt, and gave it the name of St. Michael. This was performed in the year 1531, and was the firſt Spaniſh colony planted in Peru.

The forming of this ſettlement was certainly a very prudent ſtep, and there was no place on the whole coaſt ſo properly ſituated for it as that choſen by Pizarro. His next ſtep was alſo the wiſeſt he could poſſibly have taken, for he made an equal diviſion of all the gold and ſilver in his poſſeſſion, giving notes for it, payable at Panama, to thoſe who were to accompany him in the future conqueſt, while he delivered to ſuch as remained behind in the new colony, their whole ſhares without abatement. By this eſtabliſhment he plainly diſcovered his intention to remain in the country, which it was evident he could not do but by force, and therefore the news of his erecting a fortified town, and compelling the Indians who lived near it to obey not only him, but the meaneſt of the Spaniards, ſoon ſpread through the whole Empire, and engaged the two brothers, who were contending for the throne, to turn their eyes upon thoſe who might ſoon have the empire at

their diſpoſal. But as the diſputes between theſe two brothers proved their ruin, and the chief cauſe that brought this great empire under ſubjection to the Spaniards, ſome account of the affairs of Peru is neceſſary to render this hiſtory perfectly intelligible.

CHAPTER III.

An account of the diviſions in Peru at the time of Pizarro's diſcovering that kingdom. Pizarro ſolicited for his aſſiſtance by the contending parties. Ferdinand Pizarro and Ferdinand Soto, wait upon Atabaliba in quality of Ambaſſadors, and meet with a favourable reception. The Inca, attended by his army, waits upon the Spaniſh General; but is inhumanly attacked, many of the ſoldiers murdered in cold blood, and himſelf taken priſoner. He offers a ranſom for his life, which is accepted; but is afterwards baſely murdered under the form of law.

THE Inca, or Emperor Guayanacapa was a prince who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his many virtues; but being ambitious, and generally ſucceſsful in war, made ſeveral conſiderable additions to his dominions, and in particular ſubdued the province of Quito; to confirm his title to which, he married the daughter of the late Sovereign, and by her had a ſon called Atahualpa or Atabaliba, to whom at his death he bequeathed the crown of Quito, on account of its being independent of the dominions of the Inca's, and its deſcending to him in right of his mother. But Hueſcar Guayanacapa's eldeſt ſon, who ſucceeded to his father's hereditary dominions, inſiſted upon Atabaliba's ſurrendering the kingdom of Quito, promiſing, in return, to

give him a ſhare of his father's treaſures, and to aſſign him lands for his ſubſiſtance. Atabaliba refuſed to conſent to this propoſal; but offered to pay homage to his brother Hueſcar for the crown.

In conſequence of this diſpute both parties had recourſe to arms, and a general engagement enſued which laſted for three days, and was as bloody as it was obſtinate. At length the forces of Atabaliba were defeated, and he himſelf taken priſoner; but while the guards were immerſed in the rejoicings and feſtivals which followed the victory, he found means to break a hole through the wall of the houſe wherein he was confined, by which he made his eſcape, and returned to his own ſubjects, whom he found diſpirited by their laſt defeat. He however ſoon revived their courage, by aſſuring them, that his father had appeared to him in priſon, and by changing him into a ſerpent, had given him an opportunity of ſliding through a little hole in the wall.

What to a ſenſible people would appear ridiculous, is, to a ſuperſtitious and credulous multitude a miracle. This ſtory inſtantly ſpread through the whole Empire: the people in general took up arms in his defence, and he had ſoon a larger body of forces than ever. He now defeated two or three armies that oppoſed him, levelled with the ground the place where he had been impriſoned, and on his arrival at Tumbez attempted to make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Puna, but without ſucceſs; when leaving that iſland, he marched with all his forces to give Hueſcar battle, who was advancing towards him with a prodigious army. Atabaliba hearing of his approach, ſent two of his beſt officers with 3 or 4000 light armed troops to obſerve his brother's ſtrength, who on their drawing near to Hueſcar's camp, ſtruck out of the high road to avoid being diſcovered.

At this very inſtant Hueſcar, with ſome of his chief courtiers and principal officers, had retired into the ſame bye road to ſhun the noiſe and buſtle of his army; when Atabaliba's men obſerving the royal ſtandard, laid hold of this opportunity of putting a ſpeedy end to the war, and immediately attacking Heuſcar, defeated his guards and made him priſoner.

Theſe victors were however ſoon in as much danger as the vanquiſhed, for Hueſcar's army being informed of what had paſſed, ſurrounded this handful of men, and threatened to cut them inſtantly in pieces. In this extremity they told Hueſcar, that if he did not immediately order his army to retire, they would cut off his head, after which they were determined to die upon the ſpot. At the ſame time they obſerved, that he need be under no apprehenſion from his confinement, ſince all Atabaliba required, was the permiſſion to enjoy his own kingdom of Quito, which being ſecured to him, he was too generous to detain him. On this Hueſcar ordered his principal officers to draw off their forces to Cuzco, where the Incas kept their court, and this command was immediately obeyed.

Things were in this ſituation when Pizarro entered Peru. He was firſt ſolicited to aſſiſt Hueſcar; but anſwered in general terms that he was on his march to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed, and ſee juſtice impartially adminiſtered. He was afterwards honoured with a ſolemn embaſſy from Atabaliba, to deſire his alliance and friendſhip. Upon which he immediately reſolved to viſit that prince at Caxamalca, where he then was. The Spaniards, in their way thither, ſuffered extremely by marching through a parched barren deſert, that was about 20 leagues over, after which they entered into a rich fertile country, where they ſtaid to refreſh themſelves, and then continued their journey.

The Spaniards were ſoon after met by other ambaſſadors, who came to compliment Pizarro, and to preſent him, in the name of the Inca, with a pair of gold buſkins richly ornamented, and bracelets of the ſame metal, ſet with emeralds, which he was deſired to put on, at his obtaining an audience of Atabaliba, who, by ſeeing his own preſents, would eaſily know him. Theſe ambaſſadors alſo made him ſeveral other valuable preſents and brought with them great plenty of proviſions, which were much wanted by the army.

The chief of this embaſſy was of the race of the Incas, and behaved with great politeneſs, which the Spaniards attributed to fear, in which they were certainly right, though they did not ſtand in awe of them ſo much on account of their arms as from a religious motive; for they ſuperſtitiouſly imagined that the Spaniards were the deſcendants of the Sun. For they had an old tradition, which had been univerſally received, that the elder ſon of one of their Incas, who had lived many ages before, had ſeen a ſtrange kind of phantom who called himſelf Virachoca, or offspring of the Sun. His dreſs and appearance were intirely different from that of the Peruvians, who have no beard, and whoſe clothes reached no lower than their knees; but this phantom had a long beard, a garment of a very unuſual make, which reached down to his feet, and he led in his hand an animal that was abſolutely unknown to the young prince. This fable was ſo univerſally believed, and ſo firmly rooted in the minds of the Peruvians, that they no ſooner ſaw a Spaniard with a beard, his legs covered, and holding his horſe by the bridle, than they cried out, See there is the Inca Virachoca, or the Son of the Sun. This opinion, joined to the diſſenſions between the two brothers, greatly facilitated Pizarro's conqueſts.

The Spaniards on their arrival at Caxamalca, found that Atabaliba had retired to a place at a ſmall diſtance. Upon which the general ſent to him his brother Ferdinand Pizarro and Ferdinand Soto in quality of ambaſſadors.

They were received with very great ceremony, and immediately introduced into the royal preſence, which ſtruck the Spaniards with joy and reverence; for not only the Inca, but all who were with him, glittered with gold and jewels.

As ſoon as the Spaniards approached Atabaliba, who was ſeated in a chair of maſſy gold, they ſaluted him in the Spaniſh faſhion; with which appearing well pleaſed, he aroſe and embraced them; and a golden chair being brought for each, they ſat and were ſerved by two beautiful princeſſes, in veſſels of gold ſet with emeralds. They had afterwards a collation of fruit, which being over, Ferdinand Pizarro, by means of a wretched interpreter brought from Puna, made a long ſpeech, in which he told the Inca, that Francis Pizarro, a famous general, was come as ambaſſador from the High Prieſt of the Chriſtian church, and from Charles V. the moſt potent emperor upon earth, to deliver him and his ſubjects from the tyranny of the devil, and to point out to him the right road to heaven. To this the Inca they ſuppoſed made a pathetic reply, as he drew tears from the eyes of thoſe who underſtood him, and he concluded with telling them that he would come the following day to hold a perſonal conference with their general. They could collect but little from his diſcourſe; and, from the abſurd manner in which their interpreter explained what the Inca had ſaid, they had reaſon to believe that he had received a very imperfect explanation of Ferdinand Pizarro's oration.

Francis Pizarro being informed of this intended viſit, divided his cavalry, which amounted to ſixty

men, into three troops of twenty each, and poſted them behind an old wall, that their ſudden appearance might have the greater effect; and having put himſelf at the head of his infantry, which amounted to only 100 men, waited for the coming of Atabaliba, who advanced in regular order with his army, which was divided into four battalions, conſiſting of 8000 men each; and, as ſoon as they drew near the Inca, addreſſing himſelf to his officers, ſaid, "Theſe people are meſſengers of "the gods, let us be ſeen to do nothing to offend "them; but, on the contrary, uſe our utmoſt "endeavours to gain them by civilities."

As he approached, Father Vincent de Valverda advanced from the Spaniards, carrying in one hand a croſs, and in the other his breviary. At his appearance, the Inca ſeemed much ſurprized; but received him with great reſpect, and ordered a chair for him; when the Father began a long diſcourſe which was tranſlated by the above wretched interpreter; while the Inca liſtened very attentively to his harangue; in which he gave an account of the myſteries of the Chriſtian faith, the power of the pope, St. Peter's ſucceſſor, and the univerſal monarchy of the emperor Charles V. to which it was neceſſary that the Inca ſhould ſubmit, for otherwiſe God would harden his heart, as he did Pharaoh's, and then the Spaniards were to inflict upon him all the plagues of Egypt.

As the Inca had never heard of theſe ſubjects, this diſſertation muſt have had all the appearance of nonſenſe, yet it was rendered ſtill more ridiculous by its being delivered through a channel ſo deſpicable and barbarous as Pizarro's interpreter. However, the Inca made ſome ſort of reply, which was interpreted ſo badly, that the prieſt knew no more of the emperor's meaning, than the emperor did of his. Thus a ſcene of confuſion immediately

enſued, which was increaſed by a tumult cauſed by ſome Spaniards, who obſerving an Indian idol upon a tower, richly adorned with gold, ſilver and precious ſtones, their avarice would not ſuffer them to wait longer, and therefore they fell to plundering it, in which they were at firſt oppoſed by the Indians, till the Inca, whoſe command was to them equal to a divine law, cried out, That they ſhould do nothing to offend the Children of the Sun.

Father Vincent hearing the noiſe of this tumult, turned about, and dropping his croſs and breviary, ran in haſte to appeaſe it, when ſome of the perfidious Spaniards perceiving the croſs trampled under foot, cried out, "An inſult on Chriſtianity," and inſtantly falling upon the Indians, committed a moſt dreadful ſlaughter, and the horſe ſuddenly appearing, bore down all before them; the poor Indians falling tame ſacrifices to their treachery, without making the leaſt reſiſtance. Francis Pizarro at this inſtant putting himſelf at the head of the horſe, advanced in perſon to ſeize Atabaliba, and laying hold of his robe, dragged the Inca from the chariot in which he ſat on the ſhoulders of his attendants. At which inſtant, one of the Spaniards attempting to ſtrike the emperor with his ſword, wounded Pizarro, which was all the Spaniſh blood ſpilt at this ſcene of cool, mercileſs ſlaughter, in which about 5000 Indians were inhumanly maſſacred, without attempting to uſe the weapons they held in their hands; for they thought every command of the Inca, a part of their religion, and of the divine law, though it was attended with the loſs of their lives. Their principal attention was fixed upon their prince, and many of them died, while eagerly endeavouring to ſupport his chariot, to which the Inca clung while the cruel and treacherous Pizarro dragged him from it. This hap-

pened on the 3d of May 1533, a day kept ſacred by the Romiſh church, in honour of finding the croſs of Chriſt, after its having been many years buried.

When this horrid ſcene was over, Pizarro cauſed the Inca to be conveyed to his own quarters, and directed that the ſpoils of the field ſhould be brought to him, which conſiſted of large gold and ſilver veſſels, fine garments, jewels and ornaments, belonging to the Inca, the royal family, and great officers. There were alſo taken many of the women of quality, and ſome of the conſecrated virgins. That very day Pizarro impiouſly directed, that thankſgivings to God ſhould be offered, upon the very ſpot where the earth was covered with dead bodies of the poor Peruvians, they had thus inhumanly murdered and plundered.

The next day Pizarro ſent a detachment of his forces to plunder the Inca's camp, where he met with an immenſe quantity of riches, though the Peruvian generals are ſaid to have removed 3000 loads of gold and ſilver before the Spaniards arrived there. To induce the Indians not to carry off or conceal any more of their treaſures, Pizarro cauſed it to be proclaimed that the Inca was alive, and that they were at liberty to come and wait upon him as uſual. Upon which, many of the generals and great officers returned to Caxamalca to attend their captive ſovereign. He alſo cauſed the Inca's women to be brought to him, and ſuffered him to be ſerved in the ſame manner as before his misfortunes, though he kept him in fetters, at which the Inca could not forbear ſometimes ſhewing his reſentment.

Atabaliba obſerving the inſatiable thirſt of the Spaniards after gold and ſilver, and being very deſirous of liberty, made them an offer of filling a

large room in the caſtle of Caxamalca with theſe metals, as high as an ordinary man could reach his hand; a propoſal which amazed the Spaniards, and which they gladly accepted. For this purpoſe he deſired that ſome Spaniſh officers might be ſent with his own people to Cuzco, and other cities, to fetch the treaſures depoſited there, and at the ſame time, iſſued his orders, that the Spaniards who were diſpatched to thoſe places ſhould be hoſpitably entertained in the countries through which they paſſed, and receive all the aſſiſtance his ſubjects could give them.

In the mean while Almagro, having inliſted 150 men, at Panama, had embarked with them for Peru, in order to reinforce Pizarro, but had been obliged by contrary winds to land at Capa Franciſco, where he was joined by another party of the Spaniards, who were going to ſhare Pizarro's fortune; by which means his whole body amounted to between two and 300; but having loſt by ſickneſs and fatigue 30 or 40 of his men, he at length arrived at the Spaniſh colony of St. Michel's, were he was informed that Pizarro had made the Emperor Atabaliba priſoner, and taken poſſeſſion of a vaſt treaſure; when fearing that he would refuſe him his dividend, he conſulted his officers, whether they ſhould not proceed in queſt of ſome new diſcovery independently of Pizarro; but a faithful account of this deliberation being privately diſpatched to Pizarro by Almagro's ſecretary, he immediately ſent ſeveral obliging meſſages to Almagro, to aſſure him of his integrity, and to invite him to join him: at the ſame time, he let him know, that there were ſome people who endeavoured to ſow diviſions between them, and intreated him to be on his guard, as that might end in the ruin of one or both of them, as well as the deſtruction of their enter-

prize; and to ſupport this advice, ſent him the letter he had received from the ſecretary, which Almagro no ſooner ſaw, than he cauſed him to be hanged.

The report of Almagro's arrival increaſed Atabaliba's ſolicitude about his liberty, for he wiſely judged, that the inſolence of the Spaniards would be augmented in proportion to their ſtrength; he therefore haſtened the bringing in of the treaſure he had offered for his ranſom, that he might obtain his liberty before Pizarro was joined by Almagro; but, another accident happened about the ſame time, which he apprehended might prove ſtill more fatal to him; for the Spaniſh officers who were ſent with his people to Cuzco, happening to paſs through the town where Hueſcar his brother was confined, went to ſee him, and told him what Atabaliba had offered for his ranſom; when that prince replied, that he had been unjuſtly depoſed by his brother, who had no right either to the empire or the treaſures he had promiſed; and that, as he had heard one principal deſign of their coming, was to relieve the diſtreſſed, he did not doubt but they would releaſe him from his captivity, and reſtore him to his throne, which he would not only moſt gratefully acknowledge, but would give them more treaſure than it was in the power of the uſurper to beſtow; for his loyal ſubjects had buried moſt of their gold and ſilver on his being made priſoner, but would readily produce it again, and pay it for his ranſom.

Pizarro's meſſengers liſtened to his overtures, and promiſed the Inca that juſtice ſhould be done him; but, however, left that prince in priſon, and continued their journey to Cuzco. Mean while Atabaliba being informed of theſe overtures reſolved to put his brother to death; but reflecting that the Spaniards might make this a pretence

for taking away his own life, he reſolved to ſound Pizarro's inclinations upon the ſubject; which he did by informing him, with the appearance of much affection and concern, that his brother had been murdered. But finding that Pizarro was not at all moved at this news, and only replied, that this was the fortune of war, and that the lives of captives were at the conqueror's diſpoſal, he diſpatched an expreſs for putting Hueſcar to death, and his orders were immediately executed; but in what manner is ſtill doubtful: ſome affirming, that he was drowned, and others that his body was cut into ſmall bits, to prevent his ſubjects from paying the uſual honours to his corpſe. However, it is reported, that when the murderers came into Hueſcar's preſence, and let him know their buſineſs, he expreſſed himſelf to them in the following terms; "It is true, my reign is but ſhort; "but the perſon by whoſe orders I am put to "death, who was born, and ought to have con-"tinued my ſubject, will not long enjoy that "power which he endeavours to purchaſe at "the expence of the blood of his brother and "lawful prince."

His death was no ſooner known than the Peruvians made great lamentations, and cried to Heaven for vengeance on his murderers. It is even ſaid, that ſome deſired the Spaniards to revenge it. Mean while the officers who were ſent to Cuzco were, on their arrival there, adored by the people as the true deſcendants of the Sun; but they ſoon perceived that they ought to deduce their original from a baſer fountain, and they were afflicted to find that ſo profligate a race of men, who trampled upon every thing they held ſacred, and whoſe avarice ſeemed to exceed all bounds, ſhould become the maſters of their country, and from that time they meditated how they might throw of the in-

tolerable yoke they perceived the Spaniards were about to lay upon them. They durſt not, however diſobey the commands of Atabaliba, but having amaſſed a conſiderable quantity of treaſure, they ſent it to Caxamalca, probably with a view of aſſerting their liberties to greater advantage when they ſhould have procured their Inca's releaſe.

Pizarro being informed that a great quantity of gold, ſilver, and emeralds, was lodged in the temple of the Inviſible God, he diſpatched his three brothers thither with the Peruvian officers deputed by Atabaliba; but the prieſts of his deity being informed that ſome of their temples had been ruined by the Spaniards, endeavoured to prevent the like misfortune, by ſending away 400 carriers loaded with gold, ſilver, and jewels, before the Spaniards arrived, which were either buried in the earth, or carried to ſuch a diſtance that the Spaniards could never diſcover them.—Ferdinand de Pizarro, however, found as much plate in this temple as amounted to 9000 crowns, beſides what was embezzled by the ſoldiers.

Almagro being by this time advanced into the neighbourhood of Caxamalca, Pizarro went out to meet him, and received him with all poſſible marks of affection and eſteem, offering him ſuch ſhare of the ſpoil as made him perfectly eaſy. But his ſoldiers, who expected to divide the booty with thoſe who had ſerved under Pizarro, were ready to mutiny on their being told, that they were entitled to no part of it; but they were ſoon appeaſed by Pizarro's agreeing to diſtribute 100,000 ducats among them. The reſt of the plunder, after the emperor's fifth was deducted, was divided by Pizarro among his officers and ſoldiers; and it is ſaid, that after he had reſerved the Inca's golden chair for his own uſe, he diſtributed as much gold and ſilver plate among the ſoldiers, as amounted

to above 1,500,000 crowns; which, conſidering the value of gold and ſilver at that time, was more than 15,000,000 of crowns now. But, as large as this ſum appears in round numbers, it will yet be found more extraordinary and ſurprizing, if we conſider among how ſmall a number it was divided*.

Ferdinand Pizarro was now choſen as the fitteſt perſon to go to Europe, and wait on the Emperor Charles V. with his ſhare of the treaſure; when about 60 of the private men inſiſted upon their diſcharge, that they might go home, and peaceably enjoy the wealth they had obtained; but this was violently oppoſed by Almagro, and moſt of the council, who alledged it would greatly weaken their little army. But Francis Pizarro over-ruled this oppoſition, by obſerving, that nothing could be more political than allowing them to return home; for as the meaneſt ſoldier would depart ſo very rich, they might be certain of gaining ten men for every one they loſt.

Ferdinand Pizarro, before his departure, went to take his leave of Atabaliba, with whom he was in greater eſteem than any of the Spaniſh officers: the Emperor therefore was much concerned at his departure, and ſaid "My lord, you are going home, "which is certainly matter of joy to you, though "it fills me with grief; for I already apprehend, "that, before your return, the man with one eye, "meaning Almagro, and the other with the great "belly, which was the King's treaſurer, will put "an end to my life: let us then take our laſt fare-"well."

* It appears from good memoirs, that upon this diviſion, each horſemen had to ſhare near 2000 ounces of gold, and the meaneſt ſoldier the value of 2000l. ſterling, and that even ſome of the foot had twice that ſum.

His conjecture was indeed juſt, for the Spaniards who had been ſent for the reſt of Atabaliba's ranſom, making a report of the prodigious quantities of gold they had brought, and the reaſons they had for believing that much greater were concealed, Almagro gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould wait no longer, but diſpatch the Inca, and then make as much haſte as poſſible to get into their poſſeſſion all the gold in Peru; a cruel reſolution, which, though Francis Pizarro at firſt ſeemed to reject with horror, he afterwards gave it his approbation, on account of his being treated with ſome degree of contempt by Atabaliba, and his giving a viſible preference to other officers in the Spaniſh army, the reaſon of which is very ſingular, and cannot fail of giving pleaſure to the judicious reader.

Atabaliba was a prince of great penetration, and therefore laboured to obtain as perfect a knowledge as poſſible of the manners, cuſtoms, and abilities of the Spaniards, in order that he might be the better able to deal with them, if, upon the payment of the ſum propoſed for his ranſom, they ſhould actually reſtore him to liberty. What particularly puzzled him, and ſeemed moſt unaccountable, was their having the art of writing and reading; he not being able to comprehend whether it was a natural endowment, or was acquired by labour and application. In order to obtain ſatisfaction, he aſked one of the Spaniſh ſoldiers, whether he could expreſs the name of God upon his thumb-nail: the man readily anſwered that he could, and accordingly wrote it; after which the Inca went to ſeveral of the captains and ſoldiers, and ſhewing them his thumb-nail, aſked if they knew what that mark ſignified? and from their anſwers, began to entertain an opinion, that

reading and writing were natural to the nation; but Francis Pizarro falling in his way, he aſked him the ſame queſtion, when being able neither to read nor write, he bluſhed and turned away without reſolving the queſtion; which not only changed Atabaliba's opinion, with reſpect to theſe accompliſhments, which he now plainly ſaw were the fruits of education; but gave him a very low opinion of the general, whoſe original he was perſuaded muſt have been but mean, ſince he was in this reſpect exceeded in knowledge by the pooreſt of his ſoldiers.

His contempt for Pizarro, however, laid the foundation of his ruin, which was completed by the villainy of the wretched interpreter already mentioned, who, falling in love with one of Atabaliba's wives, that monarch was ſo incenſed, that he let Pizarro know, that the fellow deſerved to be put to death, which the general turned into jeſt. Upon this the interpreter reſolved to be revenged, and accuſed the Inca of contriving the deſtruction of the Spaniards, when the general ordered that this wild and ridiculous ſtory ſhould be digeſted into a formal accuſation; commiſſioners were appointed to try Atabaliba, and the following charge was with great formality brought againſt him. That the late Inca being his eldeſt brother and lawful ſovereign, and himſelf a baſtard, he had cauſed him to be depoſed and impriſoned, and afterwards uſurped his throne. That he had cauſed his ſaid brother to be murdered. That Atabaliba was an idolater. That he cauſed his ſubjects to ſacrifice men and children. That he had raiſed unjuſt wars, and been guilty of the blood of many people. That he kept a great many concubines. That he had exacted taxes and tribute of the Peruvians, ſince the Spaniards were become in poſſeſſion of his country, and had even conſumed and

embezzled the public treaſure ; and that he had incited the Indians to rebel and make war againſt the Spaniards ſince he had been their priſoner.

Upon theſe abſurd and ridiculous articles, this Sovereign Prince was tried, in the midſt of his own dominions, by the invaders of his country ; and, what ſtill adds to the abſurdity, was tried, not by the laws of Peru, or by the law of nations eſtabliſhed by any country, but by thoſe of Spain ; and being found guilty, was condemned to be burnt alive.

However, in juſtice to the reſt of the Spaniards, it ought to be obſerved, that almoſt all the perſons of family and diſtinction in the army declared againſt this vile proceeding, and even delivered a proteſt in writing againſt it.

Father Vincent, after being concerned in this mock ſhew of juſtice, undertook the Inca's converſion ; and the argument he uſed to induce him to be baptized, was worthy of ſuch a preacher. He promiſed, that if he would die a Chriſtian, inſtead of being burned, he ſhould be only ſtrangled, which had the deſired effect, and, to the eternal diſhonour of all who were concerned in this iniquitous proceeding, he was baptized in the evening, and ſtrangled the next morning.

There are ſome who have pretended, though without any proof, that the Indians inſiſted upon Atabaliba's death, to retaliate that of his brother Hueſcar ; but it appears that there is not the leaſt foundation for ſuch an aſſertion ; for after Hueſcar's death, Atabaliba was univerſally acknowledged as the lawful Inca throughout the whole Empire ; and, on his being murdered by the Spaniards, the Peruvians began every were to act offenſively againſt them, which they had never done before.

CHAPTER IV.

The divided ſtate of Peru, after the Inca's death. Several Spaniards killed in an ambuſh, and ſome priſoners taken, who were ſet at liberty upon very generous conditions. Manca Capac acknowledged Inca of Peru. Pedro de Alverado enters Peru with an army, but is prevailed upon to retire to his government in Mexico. Pizarro lays the foundations of the cities of Lima and Truxillo. Almagro aſſumes the government of Cuzco; but is perſuaded to reſign it.

THE events that followed the death of the Inca Atabaliba, plainly ſhew that human nature is the ſame in all countries and climates, and that whilſt ſome are actuated by principles of honour and love to their country, others regulate their conduct by views of ambition. Rumnavi, one of Atabaliba's generals who had retired from the bloody ſlaughter at Caxamalca, with the rear-guard of his army, ſeized upon the province of Quito, and no ſooner heard of his Sovereign's death, than he cut to pieces ſuch of his officers as he believed firmly attached to his late maſter; while Quiſquis, another of his generals, who had been Hueſcar's executioner, attempted, with a ſtill larger army, to ſecure part of the province of Cuzco; yet had ſo little bravery, that he fled before a handful of Spaniards who were ſent in purſuit of him, but a few of theſe puſhing too far, and falling into his hands, he cauſed them to be put to death.

This general, juſtly apprehending that it would be impoſſible for him to maintain himſelf againſt

the Spaniards, contrived to get into his power, a younger brother of the Inca's, whoſe name was Pallu, whom he perſuaded to take the title of emperor; but this young prince diſcovered a greatneſs of ſoul worthy of the higheſt praiſe, and generouſly told Quiſquis, that he ſcorned to derive that authority from the miſery of the empire, which he could not hope for in better times, and eſteemed it far more honourable to be thought a good man, than a bad monarch; which had ſuch an effect upon Quiſquis, that though he had this prince in his power, he allowed him to retire. Whereupon he went to Francis Pizarro, and told him that the true heir of the empire was his eldeſt brother Manco Capac, and that if, as he pretended, he propoſed to do juſtice, and to protect thoſe who had right on their ſide, he ought to declare in favour of that prince, who had already a good army, and who, with the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, would infallibly reſtore the luſtre of the imperial diadem.

We can ſcarce form an idea of a country in a worſe ſituation than Peru was now in, or a nation in greater diſtraction than its inhabitants. They were diſpirited with ſuperſtitious fears of the Spaniards, which prevented their conſidering their own ſtrength; and, on the other hand, were divided into different factions, headed by different princes, at a time when union alone was abſolutely neceſſary for their preſervation. Pizarro, after having gratified his reſentment, thought fit to treat the corpſe of Atabaliba with the reſpect due to a ſovereign prince; he celebrated his funeral with great ſolemnity, and went into mourning for him; but he ſoon diſcovered how deteſtable this murder rendered him in the opinion of the natives. The two factions inſtantly united againſt him under Manco Capac, the brother and heir of Hueſcar,

who was proclaimed Inca at Cuzco. Upon which Pizarro proclaimed Toparpa, the ſon of Atabaliba; cauſed him to wear the imperial coronet; to be treated with the ſame honours as his father, and iſſued ſuch orders in his name as were for the intereſt of the Spaniards. This emperor, however, died ſoon after; when Pizarro imagining that nothing could eſtabliſh the dominion of the Spaniards in Peru, more than his obtaining poſſeſſion of Cuzco its capital, he began his march thither with all his forces, which conſiſted of near 400 men, beſides ſuch as were ſtiled confederate Indians.

Meanwhile Atauchi, brother to Atabaliba, having collected a large quantity of treaſure, to purchaſe his brother's ranſom, brought it to Caxamalca; but finding Atabaliba murdered, and the Spaniards marched from thence, reſolved to be revenged, and joining his forces with ſome Peruvian generals, ſurprized the Spaniards upon their march to Cuzco, killed ſome of them, and took ſeveral priſoners, among whom was Sanco de Cueller, who had drawn up the proceſs againſt Atabaliba, and attended his execution. With theſe priſoners the Indian generals returned to Caxamalca, where they cauſed De Cueller to be ſtrangled on the very ſpot where the emperor was put to death; but being informed that ſome of the other priſoners had proteſted againſt the Inca's murder, they not only ſpared their lives, but ordered the wounded to be cured, and diſmiſſed them with conſiderable preſents, on their ſigning the following articles. That all acts of hoſtility ſhould be forgiven on both ſides. That, for the future, peace ſhould be inviolably maintained between the Peruvians and the Spaniards. That the former ſhould allow Manco Capac to aſcend the throne of Peru. That ſuch Indians as they held in chains ſhould be ſet at liberty. That for the future, no

Peruvian ſhould be loaded with fetters, and that the Spaniards ſhould not treat them as ſlaves but as freemen, and be allowed to entertain Peruvians as hired ſervants. That the laws of their country ſhould be inviolably obſerved, that were not repugnant to thoſe of Chriſtianity; and that this treaty ſhould be ratified by the Spaniſh general and his ſovereign the emperor of Germany. The Spaniards inſiſted on having the free exerciſe of their religion, on having land aſſigned them for their ſubſiſtence, and free liberty of trade, without paying any taxes. All which were granted them.

But, reaſonable and generous as theſe articles were, on the ſide of the Indians, Pizarro and Almagro poſitively refuſed to ratify them, and would hear of nothing but an abſolute ſubmiſſion of their country and perſons to the will of the Spaniards; and therefore continuing his march towards Cuzco, was again attacked at ſome difficult paſſes in the mountains, by ſeveral parties of Peruvians: but finding themſelves unable to reſiſt their fire-arms and horſes, they fled to the capital, declaring that it was in vain for any human force to oppoſe the Spaniards, who were armed with thunder and lightning; upon which the inhabitants of Cuzco fled with their wives and children, and what was moſt valuable to them, to the woods and mountains. Pizarro entered the city without oppoſition, in October 1532, and though the citizens had time to carry off their goods, met with an immenſe treaſure; and, as it was the cuſtom of the country to bury with their great men the beſt part of the riches they poſſeſſed, theſe conquerors, who made no difficulty in rifling ſepulchres, found as much wealth in the tombs, as in the habitations of the living; whence the plunder of the city has been computed to amount at leaſt to the full value of Atabaliba's ranſom.

Pizarro having now made himſelf maſter of the capital, thought fit to invite the inhabitants to return to their dwellings, as he juſtly concluded that if the people were rendered deſperate, the whole power of the empire might aſſemble againſt him. The Indians accepted this invitation, and returned to their houſes, and even the Inca made ſome overtures, intimating that he would be content to embrace the Chriſtian religion, and hold his dominions of the emperor of Germany, provided that neither he nor his ſubjects ſhould for the future be moleſted either in their perſons or eſtates. When Pizarro giving him all poſſible encouragement, he came in perſon to Cuzco, where he was proclaimed Inca, and inveſted with that dignity in the ſame manner as his predeceſſors, Pizarro at the ſame time agreeing to obſerve the articles already mentioned.

The Spaniards indeed found themſelves under the neceſſity of taking theſe pacific meaſures, from their receiving intelligence that all the ſouthern provinces of Peru were aſſembling againſt them, in behalf of the Inca Manco Capac, and from Pizarro's knowing that Rumnavi, Quiſquis, and other Peruvian generals had taken poſſeſſion of Quito, which had a little before obliged Pizarro to ſend a conſiderable detachment under the command of Sebaſtian Balancazar to reinforce the colony at St. Michaels's and to make head againſt the Peruvian Generals in Quito.

Balancazar, upon his arrival at St Michael's, found a large reinforcement of volunteers, come from different parts of the Spaniſh ſettlements in order to obtain a ſhare in the riches of Peru, and out of theſe he choſe 120 foot and 80 horſe, which he incorporated into his army, and then marhed directly towards Quito, to make himſelf maſter of the riches of the late Emperor, moſt of which

remained there. The Indian General who commanded in that province, did all that lay in his power to harraſs and fatigue the Spaniſh army, without coming to a deciſive action; but finding that Belancazar continued to advance directly towards the capital, he cauſed all the late emperor's riches to be brought into the hall of the palace, and then ſetting fire to it, abandoned the city.

While Francis Pizarro and his officers were thus employed in the reduction of ſeveral provinces of the empire, they were ſuddenly interrupted by an unexpected invaſion of their countrymen. Don Pedro de Alverado, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf with Cortes in the conqueſt of Mexico, hearing of the vaſt wealth obtained by theſe adventurers, was reſolved to come in for a ſhare; and being poſſeſſed of the province of Guatimala, he fitted out ſeveral ſhips; and, to increaſe his ſtrength, ſeized two veſſels more that were actually fitting out in one of the ports of Nicaragua for the ſervice of Pizarro, and on board theſe ſhips he embarked 500 horſe and foot, which were as good troops as any in America. With this force he landed at Puerto Vejo, but endured great hardſhips in his voyage.

He then croſſed a part of the Andes near the equator, in which expedition his army alſo ſuffered greatly; but after loſing 60 of his men by the coldneſs of the weather, he arrived in the neighbourhood of St. Michael's, where he refreſhed his troops, and was preparing for continuing his progreſs into the heart of the country; but was met in the valley of Riobamba, by a large body of troops ſent by Pizarro, under the command of Almagro, who had joined Balancazar. A battle now ſeemed almoſt inevitable; but Alverado foreſeeing the conſequences that muſt attend an action, let victory remain on either ſide, willingly entered into a negotiation; and a private treaty was ſigned between them, by

which Alverado agreed to return to his own government, in conſideration of his being paid one hundred thouſand peſoes of gold to defray the expence of fitting out his fleet; and promiſing never to attempt an invaſion of Peru during the lives of Pizarro and Almagro. It was alſo ſtipulated that each party ſhould be left at liberty to purſue their ſeparate diſcoveries, for their own advantage; by which means Alverado provided for ſuch of the people as deſired to remain in Peru. Things being thus amicably ſettled, Alverado and Almagro joined their forces, in order to march to Cuzco to procure Pizarro's ratification of the treaty.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the peace between the new Inca and Pizarro was concluded after Almagro had marched from Cuzco, and conſequently he was at this time entirely ignorant of it, and that the confirmation of it, had not yet reached Quiſquis, who was encamped near Caxamalca, and waited in expectation of hearing it confirmed, with a good army, which he was then ready to diſband, and therefore retired as the Spaniards advanced; but the two generals ſeeing ſo numerous a body of forces, thought proper to attack them, and at firſt gained conſiderable advantage; for Quiſquis had not the leaſt ſuſpicion that they would come to an engagement. However, he ſecured a retreat to ſome neighbouring rocks, the ſteep acceſſes of which he defended with undaunted courage, and rolled down huge ſtones with ſuch ſucceſs as to kill ſeveral of the aſſailants, and particularly the horſe. In this manner he defended himſelf till night, when he retired to the hills, but his rear being attacked the next day on the banks of a river, maintained a very difficult paſs for many hours, and ſecured a ſafe retreat to the mountains, whence in a few days he made a ſally with pretty good ſucceſs, for though

he had a conſiderable loſs, his hopes were kept alive by his having killed above 50 Spaniards.

Pizarro being informed of theſe tranſactions, reſolved to prevent Alverado's viſit, for he was a little doubtful whether the ſight of Cuzco, and the rich country about it, might not revive Alverado's ambition. On his arrival at Caxamalca, he had an interview with the indian chiefs, in which he informed them of the treaty concluded with the Inca Manco Capac and himſelf, and put an end to theſe feuds, by aſſuring them that his countrymen had been entirely ignorant of it, promiſing that from thenceforward all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe. He afterwards met Alverado, in the valley of Pacha Camac, embraced him with the appearance of great affection, and not only agreed to perform the articles ſtipulated by Almagro, but made him a preſent of 20,000 peſoes of gold more, for the expences of his journey in coming to meet him, beſides a great number of emeralds, turquoiſes, and veſſels of gold curiouſly wrought for his own private uſe, and ordered all his officers during his ſtay to look upon him as their commander.

Alverado, after he had ſufficiently reſted and refreſhed himſelf, took his leave of the two generals, highly ſatisfied both with the treatment he had met with, and the treaſures he had acquired. Almagro then went back to Cuzco, while Pizarro ſtaid behind to ſearch for a proper place for founding a new city, which he at length built on the ſea coaſt on the banks of the little river Lima, in 12 degrees 30 minutes ſouth latitude, 120 miles weſt of Cuzco. The firſt ſtone was laid on the 6th of January 1534, and from its being the feaſt of Epiphany, he called the town Villa de los Reyes, or the City of Kings. This place is now the capital of Peru, and is known by the name of Lima. Pizarro having ſettled ſome of his people here,

divided the neighbouring lands among them, and aſſigned a number of Indians to perform their drudgery, which they juſtly conſidered as a very great hardſhip. He then proceeded along the coaſt of the South Sea to a place about 300 miles farther north, where he founded another city, which, from the place of his birth, he called Truxillo.

While Francis Pizarro was employed in building this laſt city, he received advice, that his brother Ferdinand had in a great meaſure ſucceeded in his negociation at the court of Spain, having procured for him the title of Marquis de los Atabillos, with the revenues of that province, and a large increaſe of territory, which was to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of New Caſtile; that he had alſo obtained for Almagro the poſt of marſhal of Peru, and a government 200 leagues in extent to the ſouthward of the country aſſigned to the marquis Pizarro; but as to his demand of the vaſſalage of 20,000 Indians, the emperor refuſed to grant it him, till he was informed of the cuſtoms of the country, and what conſequences might proceed from it, when he would ſhew him all the favour in that particular that was conſiſtent with juſtice.

Some account of theſe affairs reaching Almagro, before any authentic advices had arrived, he laid aſide the title of Pizarro's lieutenant, and aſſumed that of Governor of Cuzco, under the pretence of its being out of Pizarro's juriſdiction, which he maintained was only 200 leagues from the line, but being oppoſed by Pizarro's brothers, Juan and Gonzalo, the diſpute aroſe to ſuch a height, that ſome ſkirmiſhes enſued, in which ſeveral lives were loſt. Pizarro ſoon heard the news of theſe diſſentions, while he was at Truxillo, when ſeeing the neceſſity of his preſence, he left all his Spaniſh followers to proceed with the ſettlement of his

new colony, and committed himſelf, without any attendants, to the care of the Indians, who carried him in a hammock on their ſhoulders, and relieving one another at proper ſtages, travelled with ſuch expedition, that he reached Cuzco before there was the leaſt ſuſpicion of his approach. He ſoon convinced Almagro of his error; told him, that if on the arrival of their commiſſions from Spain, he ſhould diſlike what was allotted him, he would divide with him the government of Peru, and at the ſame time alſo ſaid, that though the territory to the ſouthward of Cuzco called Chili, was by all accounts richer in gold and ſilver, he would conſent to his marching at the head of the beſt part of their united forces to diſcover and obtain the poſſeſſion of it.

As the aſſiſtance of the Peruvians was ſtill neceſſary to the Spaniards, they endeavoured to keep fair with them, yet at the ſame time awed them with troops in different places; they ſtrengthened Balancazar at Quito, and a large body marched to the north-eaſt to reduce ſome provinces bordering on the immenſe ridge of mountains called the Andes, and thus ſhewed that they were far from intending to perform the agreement they had made with the Peruvians.

CHAPTER V.

Almagro ſets out with a powerful army of Spaniards and Peruvians to conquer Chili; but loſes many of his men, and ſuffers dreadful hardſhips in paſſing the Cordilleras. He abandons Chili in order to take upon himſelf the government of Cuzco, which is attacked by the Indians. The Inca diſbands his forces and retires to the mountains; while the city of Cuzco is ſurprized by Almagro, who gains ſeveral advantages over Pizarro, but afterwards concludes a treaty with him, which being broken by Pizarro, a bloody battle is fought, in which Almagro is taken priſoner, and afterwards tried, condemned and executed.

ALMAGRO having reſolved upon his ſouthern expedition, the Inca Manco, in hopes of obliging the Spaniards, aſſiſted him with 15,000 men, under the conduct of his brother Paullu, and Villachuma, or as he is called by the Spaniſh hiſtorians Villahoma. With this body of men Almagro began his march in the year 1535, and proceeded ſouthwards as far as the province of Charcas, which he ſlighted as not worth keeping, on account of its being a barren and inhoſpitable country.* In this province Almagro was informed of two paſſages into Chili, both of them attended with extraordinary difficulty, the one being through a hot ſandy deſert, where his people muſt be prepared to encounter the ſevereſt attacks of heat and thirſt, the other lying over prodigious

* Charcas has, however ſince proved the moſt valuable of all the Spaniſh acquiſitions, as it contains the rich mountains of Potoſi, from whence more ſilver has been brought into Europe, than from any other mines hitherto diſcovered.

mountains covered with ſnow, ſo craggy and ſteep as ſcarce to admit of being climbed, and ſo intenſely cold as to be impaſſable, except at one ſeaſon of the year.

Almagro conſidering that the latter was the ſhorter road, and that cold, however ſharp, was more ſupportable to European conſtitutions than exceſſive heat, choſe that paſſage, and perſiſted in his reſolution, in ſpite of the repreſentations of Paullu and the Indians: but he had ſoon reaſon to repent of his obſtinacy, for his men being obliged to remove the ſnow with their hands, made ſhort journies, ſoon conſumed their proviſions, and were reduced to inconceivable diſtreſſes, ſo that he loſt above 10,000 Peruvians, and 150 Spaniards, excluſive of ſuch as eſcaped with the loſs of their fingers and toes, though the Spaniards were very warmly clothed. They alſo loſt all or the greateſt part of their baggage. However they, at length, after a tedious march of 600 miles, arrived in Capayapu, ſubject to the Inca of Peru, where through Paullu's influence they where cheerfully entertained, and the inhabitants not only brought them plenty of proviſions, but being informed of their love of gold made them preſents to the amount of 5000 ducats.

Almagro found Paullu's authority of great ſervice to him in his progreſs, for on his account he was received in many places with much cordiality, and oppoſed only in few, ſo that he might eaſily have eſtabliſhed colonies in very advantageous ſituations, had not a kind of infatuation directed all his views towards Cuzco, were, notwithſtanding the late treaty he was reſolved to rule, affirming from the commiſſion which he had now received from the King of Spain, that this city fell within his juriſdiction. This commiſſion was brought him by Ruis Diaz and

Juan de Harada, who joined him with recruits from Cuzco, after having paſſed the Cordilleras, the road Almagro himſelf had taken, and which, as it was then ſummer, he paſſed with little fatigue.

Notwithſtanding Almagro's receiving theſe recruits, he abandoned all his views upon Chili, and began his march to the northward, when his army being terrified at the remembrance of the diſtreſſes they had endured in paſſing the Cordilleras, abſolutely refuſed to return by the ſame road they came. Upon which he was obliged to take his route through the deſert, where he was told by the Indians, that there was no water, but what was to be met with in ſtanding pools, corrupted by the heat of the ſun, and even theſe at eighteen or twenty miles diſtance from each other. To remedy theſe inconveniences, leathern bottles were made to carry the water, and parties of Indians diſpatched before the army to drain the pits of that which was ſtagnated, and leave the freſh at liberty to riſe: expedients that were of vaſt uſe, and enabled them to paſs theſe barren tracts with much leſs difficulty than was at firſt imagined.

In the mean while the Peruvians who marched with Almagro, grew diſcontented at the ill uſage they met with from the Spaniards, and complained to each other of their barbarity. None had a greater ſhare of theſe conferences than the interpreter ſo often mentioned, who at length engaged in a plot againſt Almagro's life; but reflecting on the danger to which he was expoſed, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf by flight. He was however taken, and then informed againſt the Inca Paullu as being the principal perſon in the plot; but this being inconſiſtent with that Prince's general behaviour, Almagro cauſed the interpreter to be put to the torture, when he confeſſed the falſhood of his accuſation, and at the ſame time acknow-

ledged, that by falſe ſuggeſtions he had contributed to take away the life of Atabaliba. On which accounts he ſuffered an ignominious death.

At this time affairs were in great confuſion in Peru; the Inca Manco had now loſt all confidence in the Spaniards, and was ſo ſenſible of the injuries he received, and of the little hopes there were of his ever being reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his throne and the ſovereign power, as had been promiſed by the treaty of Caxamalca, that he reſolved to try what could be done by force; judging it better to rely upon the juſtice of his cauſe, and the aſſiſtance of his people, than upon the promiſes of thoſe who had ſo baſely broken their words to his brother, and had never fulfilled their engagements to himſelf. For this purpoſe he prevailed on Ferdinand Pizarro to give him leave to go to a ſolemn feſtival held at Yucaya, four leagues from Cuzco, which was in reality a kind of aſſembly of the ſtates of Peru, where a ſcheme was laid of inſtantly raiſing three armies, and inveſting Cuzco, Lima, and Truxillo, at the ſame time. With the firſt, he himſelf took the caſtle of Cuzco, and cloſely blocked up the city; the ſecond, which conſiſted of a good body of troops, marched againſt Francis Pizarro, at the city of Lima, and the third was intended to act againſt Almagro, notice of which was ſent to the high-prieſt, who found means to eſcape from the army. Prince Paullu was alſo informed of the ſituation of his brother's affairs, and what was expected from him, in order to facilitate the conqueſt of the invaders, but he rejected the propoſals, and declared that he would not break his faith with the Spaniards. The interpreter having diſcloſed this ſecret with his laſt breath, Almagro declared Paullu emperor, and though he had before refuſed that title, yet he now ſuffered it to be given him, for the ſake of

his own ſafety, and that his nation might not want a protector.

The Inca Manco ſtill continued to beſiege Cuzco with an army of 200,000 men; but though there were only ſeventy Spaniards in the place, yet having ſome horſe, and a good train of artillery, they made a vigorous defence, and what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, made ſeveral ſallies, in one of which Juan Pizarro being wounded in the head with a ſtone, died about three days after, to the great regret of thoſe of his party.

The Inca, hearing of Almagro's approaching Cuzco, reſolved to retire, and though Almagro endeavoured to perſuade him to agree to a treaty, he abſolutely refuſed it, being determined never more to hear of terms from a people who had hitherto kept none with him: but took a very ſurpriſing ſtep, which was diſbanding his army, and privately retiring to the mountains. His officers endeavoured to diſſuade him from it, by obſerving, that no time could ever promiſe him greater ſucceſs than this, in which Pizarro and Almagro were at open variance. In anſwer to which he replied, that notwithſtanding their private animoſities, they would certainly join againſt him, ſhould he make a ſhew of oppoſing them, and that it was time enough for him to return and vindicate his right, when they were thoroughly weakened by their mutual contentions.

It is ſurpriſing that the Spaniards ſhould have choſen this time for quarrelling among themſelves, and entering into a civil war. But Almagro having a conſiderable body of troops under his command, reſolved immediately to renew his old claim to Cuzco, and in caſe he ſhould make himſelf maſter of that city, determined to render it the ſeat of his government. On his appearing before the walls, and finding the Indians drawn off, he

ſent a ſummons to Don Ferdinand Pizarro the Spaniſh governor, to deliver up the city, to which he anſwered, that he held it by commiſſion from his brother the marquis, and would not deliver it up without his orders, as he knew it to be within the limits of his brother's government. He immediately proceeded to put the place in a poſture of defence; but part of the garriſon being Almagro's friends, introduced his forces into the town at midnight, when Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro were made priſoners, by which means Almagro became poſſeſſed of Cuzco with little or no bloodſhed, and moſt of the garriſon entered into his pay.

In the mean time the marquis Pizarro hearing no news from his brother at Cuzco, and concluding that all the parties he had ſent thither to reinforce them had been cut off by the Peruvians, reſolved to ſend ſuch a body of troops thither as ſhould be able to force their way in ſpite of all the oppoſition the Indians could make againſt them, and having aſſembled 5000 horſe and foot, gave the command of this body to Don Alonzo de Alverado, with orders to march with all poſſible expedition, and under him appointed Pedro de Lerma, captain of a troop of horſe, who being an older officer, was ſo diſguſted at this affront, that he meditated the ruin of the enterprize.

Alverado marched with ſuch diſpatch, that though he had preſſed upwards of 5000 Peruvians to carry his baggage, moſt of them periſhed in the firſt part of the journey, by being overladen, and driven beyond their ſtrength, upon which he halted, and preſſed ſome thouſands more to ſupply the places of thoſe he had loſt.

Almagro having received intelligence that Don Alonzo Alverado was advancing, diſpatched ſome Spaniards of diſtinction to repreſent to him that

Cuzco, according to the emperor's diviſion of Peru, was a part of his government, and to adviſe him to return back to Lima, till the marquis and he ſhould adjuſt the limits of their reſpective governments, when Alverado, inſtead of complying with this requeſt, made theſe gentlemen priſoners. Upon this Almagro took the field, and ſurprized a party of Alverado's horſe, by whom he was informed that great part of the troops were better affected to him than to the marquis Pizarro, and that Pedro de Lerma, with many of his friends, would deſert upon the firſt opportunity, he therefore advanced to the banks of a ſmall river, on the other ſide of which Alverado was encamped; they remained quiet however without endeavouring to attack each other all day; but in the night Orgonez, Almagro's lieutenant general, forded the river at the head of the troops, threw Alverado's forces into great confuſion, and giving Pedro de Lerma, with the reſt of Almagro's friends, an opportunity of joining him, gained an eaſy victory, and took Alverado priſoner, with whom he returned in triumph to Cuzco. Some of the principal commanders now adviſed the conqueror to provide for his future ſecurity, by putting the Pizarros to death: but this he abſolutely refuſed, alleging, that it was beneath a gentleman and ſoldier to put people to death in cold blood; and, though he was preſſed with great warmth to march with his victorious army againſt Lima, he would not agree to it, on account of his having no claim to that part of the country.

The marquis of Pizarro was greatly affected at the news of this defeat, but finding himſelf too weak to make head againſt Almagro, as his whole force ſcarcely exceeded 400 men, he reſolved to try what could be done by policy, and therefore ſent deputies to Cuzco, to propoſe an accommoda-

tion. Almagro received them with great civility, and promiſed to have an interview with the marquis, in which commiſſioners ſhould be choſen to ſettle their reſpective boundaries. He accordingly marched out of Cuzco at the head of above 500 Spaniards, and took the road to Lima, carrying Ferdinand Pizarro with him as his priſoner, while Gonzalo Pizarro and Alverado were left in the city under the care of De Rojas, but after Almagro's departure they ſeized De Rojas, put him in irons, and made their eſcape to Lima, accompanied by about ſixty men, whom they had won over to their intereſt. Upon receiving the news of their eſcape, Orgonez and his partizans urged Almagro to revenge it by the death of his priſoner Ferdinand; but this he abſolutely refuſed, and ſoon after met the marquis at Mala, with twelve perſons on each ſide, in order to terminate their diſputes. This conference was, however, ſuddenly broke off by one of Almagro's followers ruſhing abruptly into his preſence, and crying out that he was betrayed, whereupon he inſtantly took horſe and rode off, leaving matters entirely unſettled.

This alarm was cauſed by the approach of Gonzalo with 700 men. Upon which Orgonez alſo advanced with his troops in order to prevent the treachery he ſuſpected to be in agitation. Each ſide now ſeemed ready for war, and yet the marquis again found means to perſuade Almagro, to liſten to terms, and a treaty was concluded and ſworn to by each of them, by which the poſſeſſion of Cuzco, with other advantages, was ceded to Almagro, till the emperor's deciſion ſhould be known. In conſequence of this treaty Ferdinand Pizarro was ſet at liberty upon his taking an oath not to act againſt Almagro.

The marquis Pizarro had no ſooner obtained his brother's liberty, than he broke through the treaty,

ſending a notary with witneſſes to ſummon Almagro to ſurrender Cuzco and all the places he had conquered, on pain of being treated as a rebel: a method of proceeding that was the more inexcuſable, as he had juſt before received an expreſs from court, by which each governor was enjoined, under pain of the emperor's diſpleaſure, to keep quiet poſſeſſion of all ſuch places as ſhould own their reſpective juriſdiction at the time of the meſſenger's arrival, and in caſe they thought themſelves injured, they were directed to appeal to the council of the Indies. But theſe orders he thought fit to ſuppreſs.

Almagro, ſeeing how ungenerouſly he was treated, gave orders for defending Cuzco, and marched with his troops to meet the marquis's army which was advancing under the command of Gonzalo Pizarro; the two armies met near a place called the Salinas, ſo named from a fountain of brackiſh water which ſprung up there; but after an engagement which laſted two hours, Almagro was entirely defeated. Orgonez behaved with great gallantry; but growing faint with his wounds, accepted quarter from a perſon named Fuentez, who thus getting him into his power, murdered him in cold blood. Ferdinand Pizarro was in the heat of the engagement unhorſed by Lerma, who at the ſame time upbraided him with his perjury; his armour however ſaved his life. Lerma was afterwards borne down by ſome of Pizarro's party, and was treacherouſly ſtabbed; but had the misfortune to recover, and to be more cruelly butchered, and at length Almagro who was ill and too weak to ſit a horſe, was carried into the field in a litter, and perceiving his army defeated, retired to the citadel of Cuzco, whither he was followed by Alverado, to whom he was ſoon obliged to ſurrender.

Almagro was no ſooner in the power of his enemies, than Ferdinand reſolved to be revenged for his own and his brother's long impriſonment; therefore, after Almagro had been ſome months confined in priſon at Cuzco, the lawyers were employed to draw up articles againſt him, the principal of which were, that he had ſeized the city of Cuzco, entered into a ſacred treaty with the Inca, encroached upon the government granted to the marquis, and fought two battles againſt the forces of his ſovereign, by which much Chriſtian blood had been ſpilt, and the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms greatly retarded.

For theſe offences Almagro being tried by his enemies, was convicted and condemned to die, though he appealed to the emperor, and in very moving terms applied to Ferdinand Pizarro to ſave his life. He obſerved that he had ſpared him, and, on account of the friendſhip he bore him and the marquis, had refuſed to put to death any of his relations; that he would do well to remember how inſtrumental he had been in enabling his brother to obtain thoſe conqueſts, and raiſing him to the honours he poſſeſſed: he deſired the Pizarros would conſider, that he was an old gouty man who could not live many years, and that they would therefore ſuffer him, after the innumerable hardſhips he had ſuſtained, to die a natural death. Alverado alſo pleaded ſtrongly, that his appeal to the emperor might be admitted, and attempted, though in vain, to ſoften Ferdinand's inflexibility, by repreſenting the kindneſs with which he had treated both him and his brother when they were his priſoners, and their lives in his power. But looking upon their old companion and fellow-ſoldier as the only obſtacle to their ambition, and believing that by his death they ſhould obtain the ſole dominion of Peru without a rival, they were deaf to all his

intreaties, and having cauſed him to be privately ſtrangled in priſon, they ordered his head to be cut off on a ſcaffold in the great ſquare of Cuzco. His body lay moſt part of the day almoſt naked, expoſed on the ſcaffold, without any body daring to bury it, leſt this ſhould provoke his enemies, who were ſo inhuman as to take no care of its interment. But towards evening a few poor Peruvians who had been his ſervants, wrapt it in a coarſe ſheet, and conveyed it to a church, erected by the Spaniards, where it was interred by the clergy under the high altar.

Thus died Almagro, in the ſeventy-fifth, or, as others ſay, the ſixty-fifth year of his age. He was of a low ſtature, but ſtrong and well ſet. His enemies ſaid he was of mean parentage, but this it was impoſſible for them to know, ſince as has been already obſerved, he was found in the ſtreets, and, being never owned by any body, went by the name of the town in which he was found. His education was of a piece with his birth, for it is uncertain what it was, or where he received it. He became a ſoldier almoſt as ſoon as he became a man. He was remarkable for his bravery, and had ſuch preſence of mind that no danger could diſconcert him. He was kind, liberal, and ſlow in puniſhing his ſoldiers; yet, from the force of his own example, maintained a very ſtrict diſcipline. Though he kept a good table for his officers, he himſelf fared as hard as any private man in the army, and when this was repreſented to him as a piece of affectation, he replied, that his was the diet of a ſoldier. He was loyal to his prince, and merciful to the Spaniards; but was at the ſame time haughty and ambitious, and at firſt very cruel to the Peruvians; but living ſome time with a Peruvian woman, by whom he had his ſon Diego, he at length grew ſo kind to them, that they loved him better than any of the Spaniards.

The natural ſon which Almagro had by the above Indian woman, he at his death bequeathed to the care of Diego Alverado, who deſiring Pizarro to evacuate ſo much of the country as he had always allowed to be put under Almagro's government, that he might take poſſeſſion of it for the youth, was haughtily anſwered, that his government was now unbounded, and ſince Almagro was no more, he knew of nobody who had a right to inſiſt on ſharing it with him.

Alverado exaſperated at this anſwer, reſolved to ſeek redreſs at the court of Spain; he therefore ſoon after left Peru, and returned to Europe, with ſuch evidences as were proper to ſupport the cauſe he eſpouſed.

The death of Almagro, though covered with a ſhew of juſtice, was ſo highly reſented by the Spaniards, that inſtead of extinguiſhing, as was expected, it increaſed his faction. Upon which Ferdinand Pizarro, ſuſpecting from the behaviour of the ſoldiers, that ſome deſigns were carrying on againſt his life, thought proper to follow Alverado to Spain, with all the gold he could collect, in order to bribe the Spaniſh miniſtry. But Alverado having prepared the way for his reception, he was arreſted, and thrown into priſon as ſoon as he arrived, and though Alverado died ſoon after, he was ſuſpected to have been poiſoned by Ferdinand, to put a ſtop to the proſecution, yet the latter continued 23 years in confinement.

The Peruvians now obſerving the diviſion that ſubſiſted among the Spaniſh generals, had again recourſe to arms, and though the Spaniards in Peru ſoon amounted to above 2000, they found it more difficult to maintain their ground than at firſt, when they had not 400; for the terror the Peruvians were under from the fire-arms and horſes, which they had never ſeen before, was in

a great meaſure worn off; ſome of them had even learned of the Spaniards how to ride, and handle their arms, and, having taken ſome horſes, were not afraid to make uſe of them againſt theſe tyrants; and it ſeems highly probable, that, had not ſome particular bodies of Indians been ſo infatuated as to adhere cloſely to the intereſts of the Spaniards, diſcovered the ſtrong paſſes, and, from time to time, brought them both proviſions and intelligence, Pizarro would at laſt have been obliged to abandon his conqueſts.

CHAPTER VI.

The Marquis Pizarro extends his conqueſts to the South, and ſubdues the province of Charcas, after which he ſends his brother Gonzalo, whom he had made Governor of Quito, to make new diſcoveries, who proceeds to the eaſtward, in hopes of finding countries ſtill richer than Peru: but is at length deſerted by Orellana, who ſails down the river of Amazons, and from thence returns to the Spaniſh ſettlements on the other ſide of the Continent of America, which obliges Gonzalo to return to Quito.

THE moſt conſiderable acquiſition made after Almagro's death, was the conqueſt of the province of Charcas, in which were the invaluable mines of Potoſi, whoſe treaſures attracted ſuch a multitude of adventurers, that the Peruvians were at length compelled to ſubmit, and become ſlaves to their imperious maſters. But the Spaniards were far from being ſo ſucceſsful in Chili; that brave people diſputed the ground with them by inches, nor could they ever entirely conquer it;

even in the province of Charcas, Gonzalo Pizarro, and his forces, were ſo ſurrounded and diſtreſſed by the Indians, that his brother the marquis was obliged to march in perſon to his relief, with the garriſon of Cuzco.

However, this conqueſt being finiſhed, the marquis founded the city of La Plata, ſo named from the ſilver mines, and divided not only the city, and country about it, but the Indian inhabitants, among the conquerors. To his brother Ferdinand Pizarro, who was then confined in Spain, he allotted a large ſhare, and to his brother Gonzalo, that part of the country in which were the ſilver mines of Potoſi. Ferdinand, as a citizen of La Plata, had alſo a ſhare of thoſe mines, and a particular part of the country being aſſigned to his officers, they diſcovered ſo rich a vein, that they are ſaid to have dug from it the fineſt ſilver without any alloy.

The Marquis now found himſelf poſſeſſed of an extent of country 7 or 800 leagues in length, from the equinoctial to the ſouth part of the province of Charcas, in which were more rich mines than in all the world beſides, and yet his avarice or ambition was not fully ſatisfied; but, in an extreme old age, he employed his brother Gonzalo, who was then Governor of Quito, in the conqueſt of other nations.

Gonzalo accordingly entered the province of Los Quitos, and after ſubduing that country, where the inhabitants were downright barbarians, when compared with thoſe of Peru, he reſolved to paſs the high mountains which bound that province on the north, and, for that purpoſe, aſſembled a conſiderable number of Indians, and a good quantity of cattle; but having aſcended half way, the cold was ſo intenſe, that he perceived it would be impoſſible for him to proſecute his march in

that manner. Therefore, leaving his cattle, and the beſt part of his baggage, he haſtily deſcended into the valley of Zumaque, which he found extremely fertile, and there refreſhed his forces for two months.

Gonzalo then endeavoured to continue his march northward; but, finding the way extremely rough and mountainous, he turned directly eaſt, in hopes of meeting with an eaſier paſſage, and entered into a rich and populous country, where the inhabitants were filled with amazement and terror at ſeeing the Spaniards among them, and indeed they had the greateſt reaſon; for theſe pretended Chriſtians behaved towards them with the moſt ſavage brutality, for Gonzalo Pizarro himſelf is ſaid, even by ſome Spaniſh writers, to have given ſeveral of the natives to be eaten alive by his dogs.

This inhuman treatment made them riſe in arms againſt theſe invaders, which obliged him to encamp, and uſe all the precautions neceſſary in an enemy's country. But, having fixed their tents on the bank of a river, it ſwelled ſo much in one night, that, if the centinels had not in time warned them of their danger, they had all been drowned; but the alarm was no ſooner given, than they ſecured themſelves, by running up towards the cottages of the Indians.

Pizarro, diſappointed at this event, and not knowing what other courſe to take, returned to Zumaque, and from thence proceeded, with all his men, towards a large village called Ampua, where he found the Cacique, and a great number of the inhabitants in a poſture of defence; but there was another and greater obſtacle in his way, and that was a river ſo wide and deep, that he had no poſſible means of croſſing it. The only expedient he had left, was, therefore, to enter into a treaty

with the people of the country, and desire the assistance of their canoes. This proposal the cacique received with great civility, agreed to terms of peace, and granted them as many canoes as they desired; on which Gonzalo in return, made him a present of many little Spanish toys. The cacique, however, receiving advice of the ill treatment his neighbours had received from his new guests, endeavoured to make them believe, that great riches were to be found among the people who dwelt some days journey lower down the river. Pizarro returned him thanks by his guides, who were his interpreters; but afterwards finding no appearance of these pretended riches, he returned to Zumaque, much dissatisfied with his expedition; but resolved not to return to Quito, till he had made some discovery that would render him as famous as his elder brother the marquis Pizarro.

This resolution he communicated to Francis Orellana, a gentlemen of Truxillo, who came to join him in the valley of Zumaque, and having taken one hundred soldiers, and some Indians for guides, and to carry provisions, he marched directly to the east; but these guides soon brought him into a country full of mountains, forests, and torrents, which obliged him to make ways where he found none, and open a passage through the woods with hatchets. However, after many days march he pierced through as far as the province of Coca, where the cacique came to meet him, and offered him all the accommodations the country afforded.

Gonzalo was highly pleased with this reception, and, by the assistance of his guides, entered into a conversation with the cacique, who let him know, that the country through which he had passed, was so full of mountains, forests, and rivers, that

he had taken the only paſſage that could have brought him thither; but that, if he was willing to embark on the river he ſaw before him, or to follow it by land, he might aſſure himſelf, that he would reach the banks of another river, much larger than this, where there was a plentiful country, whoſe inhabitants were covered with plates of gold.

The cacique could not have mentioned a more alluring motive. Gonzalo's avarice was fired, and he immediately ſent two of his guides, with orders to the officers and ſoldiers he had left at Zumaque, to come and join him immediately. Theſe orders they inſtantly obeyed, and, ſurmounting all the difficulties of the way, arrived, much fatigued, at the town of Coca, where Gonzalo, having made them ſtay ſome days to refreſh themſelves, placed them in order of battle before the cacique, who was ſo terrified at their appearance, that he collected a great quantity of proviſions, and preſented them to Pizarro, in order to haſten his departure. The latter, impatient to be gone, the next morning filed off his troops along the river, where, having made the cacique a preſent of a ſword, he placed himſelf at the head of his cavalry, and proceeded along the banks, which were extremely pleaſant.

However, the ſmoothneſs of the way did not laſt long. It was ſoon interrupted by ſmall rivers and uneven grounds, and they were obliged to march forty-three days without finding either proviſions, fords, or canoes to enable them to paſs the river. By this long march they were much fatigued, when they were ſtopped by a ſight which appeared very ſurpriſing; the river grew narrow and confined between two rocks at no more than twenty feet diſtance from each other, and the water ruſhing with

rapidity through this ſtrait, precipitated itſelf into a valley, which lay 200 fathoms below.

Here Pizarro made the famous bridge for his troops to paſs over, which is ſo much extolled by the Spaniſh hiſtorians; but finding the way not at all the better on the other ſide, and their proviſions growing daily more and more ſcarce, Pizarro reſolved to cauſe a brigantine to be built, in order to carry by water all his ſick men, proviſions, baggage and gold; and this being done with no ſmall difficulty, Pizarro ſent on board this veſſel whatever had obſtructed his march, with fifty ſoldiers under the command of Francis Orellana, who were ſtrictly ordered to keep up with them, and to come every night to the camp. This order he obſerved very exactly, till Gonzalo ſeeing all his men pinched with hunger, commanded him to go in ſearch of proviſions and cottages, where the Spaniards might meet with refreſhments.

No ſooner had Orellana received his orders, than he launched out into the middle of the river, where the rapidity of the ſtream carried him as faſt as he could wiſh, for in three days he made above 100 leagues without the uſe of either ſails or oars. The current of the river Coca, at length carried him into a much larger river, where the ſtream was not near ſo ſwift. He there ſtaid a whole day to make his obſervations, and perceiving that the farther he went down, the more the river widened, he had not the leaſt doubt, that this was the great river that had been ſo often ſought for, which filled him with ſuch joy at his good fortune, that without paying the leaſt regard to his duty, fidelity, and gratitude to Gonzalo Pizarro, he thought of nothing but executing an enterprize he was then forming. For this purpoſe he perſuaded his companions that this country was not that deſcribed by their general; that it had not the

plenty the Cacique told him he ſhould find at the joining of the two rivers, and that they muſt proceed farther in ſearch of that pleaſant and fertile land, where they were to ſtore themſelves with proviſions; and beſides, that they ſaw there was no poſſibility of returning up the river, for though they had now proceeded only three days, yet he believed they could not make their way back in the ſpace of a year; that it was much more reaſonable for them to wait till Gonzalo came up with them; and that it was neceſſary they ſhould ſtill proceed in ſearch of proviſions.

Thus concealing his deſign, he hoiſted ſail: and thought of nothing but purſuing the courſe of the river, till he ſhould diſcover it quite to the ſea. Mean while his companions were amazed at the manner in which he put in execution the deſign he had been propoſing to them, and thought themſelves obliged to tell him, that he went beyond the orders of his general; that conſidering the extreme want he was in, they ought to carry him the little proviſions he could find, and that he had given ſufficient evidence of his having entertained ſome ill deſign, by his neglecting to leave two canoes at the joining of the two rivers, as the general had ordered, for his army to paſs over.

Theſe remonſtrances were chiefly made by a dominician friar named Gaſpar de Carvajal, and a young gentleman of Badujos, called Ferdinand Sancho de Vargas, who were ſo reſpected by thoſe on board, that their remonſtrance occaſioned a diviſion in this little veſſel, and from words they were very near coming to blows; but Orellana at length by his proteſtations and fair promiſes appeaſed this diſorder. By means of a friend he had on board, he afterwards gained moſt of the ſoldiers that were againſt him, when ſeeing the two heads of the other party left almoſt alone, he cauſed de Vargas to be ſet aſhore and left by himſelf without

either proviſions or arms, in a diſmal wilderneſs, bounded on one ſide with high mountains, and by the river on the other. He had more prudence than to treat the friar in the ſame manner; but he let him know, that it was not for him to penetrate any more into the intentions of his commander, unleſs he had a mind to be ſeverely chaſtiſed.

After this he continued his voyage, and the next day being willing to know if he might ſafely depend upon all that were with him, he told them, that he aſpired to a much higher dignity than could be obtained in the ſervice of Pizarro: that he owed every thing to himſelf and to his king; and that his fortune having, as it were, led him by the hand, to the greateſt and moſt deſirable diſcovery that ever was made in the Indies, namely, the great river whereupon they were ſailing, which coming out of Peru, and running from weſt to eaſt, was the fineſt channel in the new world, through which they might paſs from the South Sea to the Atlantic Ocean; and that he could not, without betraying them all, and without raviſhing from them the fruits of their voyage and induſtry, make others ſhare in a favour which heaven had reſerved for them alone.

By this means Orellana brought his men to have a ſhare of that ambition which fired his own breaſt. His neceſſities, however, ſometimes forced him to land with his people to obtain proviſions; but as he did not take theſe with that prudence that became him in a ſtrange country, the natives unanimouſly took up arms, and with great boldneſs fell upon the Spaniards, who defended themſelves with much courage, and killed many of their antagoniſts with their croſs-bows, when inſpecting their bodies, they found that ſeveral of them were women; it being no uncommon thing in that country for the women to fight by the ſides of their huſbands; but Orellana being of a romantic turn,

improved this ſlight hint into a formal hiſtory of a great nation of Amazons ſettled upon this river: by which fable, he overturned his great deſign of giving it his own name; from this ſtory it received the name which it ſtill bears, and will always bear, of the river of the Amazons.

However, Orellana, in the remaining part of his paſſage took care to behave with more prudence and mildneſs to the people he met with, among whom were many gentle and even polite nations, as well as others that were fierce and warlike. In fine, he paſſed down the river to the ſea, and having coaſted about a promontory, now called the North Cape, two hundred leagues from the iſland of Trinidada, he ſailed directly thither, and there buying a ſhip, returned to Spain, where he made ſuch a report of the country he had ſeen to the emperor Charles V. that he obtained as ample a commiſſion as he could deſire; and, in the year 1549, ſailed with three ſhips for the river of the Amazons; but this ſecond expedition was the very reverſe of the firſt, and was unfortunate from the very beginning; for a contagious diſtemper ſpreading among his men, obliged him to quit two of his three ſhips, and afterwards his company was ſo reduced as to ſail in a ſmall bark, with which he propoſed to proſecute his diſcovery; but being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Caraccas, he there loſt three of his men, and ſoon after died of mere vexation and deſpair in the iſland of St. Margaret.

But to return to Gonzalo, who, while Orellana was engaged in this expedition, was reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs; he proceeded for ſeveral days along the banks of the river, until at laſt ſeeing that there was no hopes of Orellana's return, he concluded, that he and his men were loſt, and therefore giving up all expectation of making any farther diſcoveries in that country, proceeded back to his government of Quito.

CHAPTER VII.

The Marquis Pizarro's cruelty to Almagro's followers occaſion his being aſſaſſinated.

AFTER the marquis Pizarro had ſent his brother Gonzalo on the above expedition, he employed himſelf ſolely in ſecuring and eſtabliſhing his authority by a method that was at once the moſt cruel and impolitic: he had before diſcharged all the officers whom he ſuſpected to have any regard for Almagro, and conſcious of his own injuſtice, and fearing leſt they ſhould complain againſt him, he prevented their returning home to Spain, by which means many of them being reduced to the neceſſity of living upon the alms of their countrymen, he reſolved to deprive them even of this pitiful ſubſiſtence, and for this purpoſe publiſhed an edict forbidding any to relieve them; a proceeding that at once rendered them deſperate, and ſeeing no end to their miſeries, but by diſpatching themſelves or the marquis, they reſolved upon the latter.

The braveſt of Almagro's friends repaired privately by two or three at a time to the city of Lima, where they did not want friends who concealed them in their houſes, till their number amounted to above 200. As they were all hardy veterans, and had ſeveral experienced officers among them, they immediately reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of executing their deſign, but ſoon after thought proper to delay it, in hopes that a new commiſſioner, ſome of whoſe attendants were already arrived, would come from Spain,

to take cognizance of the marquis's conduct, and do them juſtice without laying them under the neceſſity of raiſing an inſurrection. But on Sunday the 26th of June, 1541, De Rada, one of the principal conſpirators, being informed that they were diſcovered, and that the marquis was taking meaſures for having them all put to an ignominious death in leſs than three hours, haſtily communicated this intelligence to ſuch of the conſpirators as he could moſt readily meet with, when finding there was no time to be loſt, they repaired one by one, to the number of nineteen, to the houſe of young Almagro, which ſtood on one ſide of the great ſquare, whence they boldly marched at noon day, with their drawn ſwords, through the market-place, to the marquis's palace, crying, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant die!"—When, though there were above 1000 people in the ſquare, they neither met with the leaſt oppoſition, nor did the marquis receive the ſmalleſt hint of their riſing, ſo that they found the gates of the palace open, which they eaſily entered.

Pizarro was ſitting with two or three people when the firſt news of the diſturbance was brought by one of his pages, and immediately ordered Francis de Chaves his lieutenant general, to ſecure the great door, which he neglected, as he ſuppoſed it to be only ſome trifling tumult, that would be eaſily ſuppreſſed by his preſence, when going down ſtairs and meeting the conſpirators upon the great ſtair-caſe, he demanded the reaſon of that inſolence, which was anſwered by two or three of the conſpirators lodging their daggers in his boſom, and he fell dead at their feet. The marquis hearing them in the gallery, and not having time to put on his armour, ſeized his ſword and buckler, and for ſome time defended the door of the drawing-room with great bravery, ſupported only by his

half brother Don Francis de Alcantara, and two of his pages, the reſt of his company and ſervants having fled at the beginning of the inſurrection. At length one of the conſpirators killed Don Francis, when the reſt puſhing forward with freſh vigour, the marquis retired before them, but at laſt ſunk down fainting with loſs of blood, and was ſoon diſpatched, while his two pages who fought bravely in his defence, wounded ſeveral of the conſpirators, and expired by his ſide.

Thus died Don Francis Pizarro, in the 65th year of his age, in the city of Lima, the capital of Peru, which he had founded ten or eleven years before. His body was by the young Almagro's permiſſion, privately interred by his ſervants, no perſon of any figure daring, at this juncture, to attend his funeral, for fear of giving offence to the prevailing party.

The meanneſs of Pizarro's education was publicly known, from his not being able to write his own name, which was always inſerted by his ſecretary between two ſtrokes, which he drew with a pen. He was never married, but had ſeveral concubines, ſome of them the daughters and ſiſters of the Incas; however, we do not find that he left any children behind him. Nature had endowed him with ſome good qualities, the moſt remarkable of which was his bravery, but his ambition was boundleſs; he never ſcrupled to ſacrifice his honour to his intereſt; and his cruelty rendered him a diſgrace to human nature. His fate was in ſome meaſure like that of Almagro his unfortunate aſſociate; ſince like him he died a violent death, like him was a victim to ambition, and like him went to the grave in obſcurity after a life of ſplendor.

The conſpirators had no ſooner completed this bloody ſcene, than they returned to the market-place, declaring that the tyrant was dead, and

proclaimed the young Almagro governor of Peru. For all the friends of Almagro had aſſembled while the others were attacking the marquis in his palace, and ſecuring his guards, prevented his receiving any aſſiſtance. They alſo ſecured all the horſes and arms in the city, and commanded all the inhabitants who refuſed to join them, not to ſtir out of their houſes without leave. They plundered the houſes of the marquis, and his principal friends, in which they found an immenſe treaſure; but did not meddle with the furniture of the marquis's palace, which they left for the uſe of young Almagro, whom they had no ſooner proclaimed governor, than they conducted thither.

CHAPTER VIII.

Young Almagro meets with oppoſition. Vaca de Caſtro, a perſon of an excellent character, arrives from Spain, with power to ſettle the diſputes in Peru, and is joined by ſeveral officers. He comes to a battle with Almagro, whom he defeats, and Almagro being afterwards taken priſoner, is convicted of high treaſon, and executed with many of his adherents.

LIMA was inſtantly obliged to own the authority of Almagro, and the marquis Pizarro's death was no ſooner publicly known, than Cuzco and moſt of the principal towns declared for him. But Alonzo de Alverado, who was in the ſouthern province of Chiachapuca, and Pedro Holguin, abſolutely refuſed to acknowledge Almagro's authority. The former, therefore, inſtantly aſſembled a body of troops between Lima and Quito, and at the ſame time Holguin, with ſeveral other generals and officers, raiſed another body of troops, and

haſted to Cuzco, where they erected the royal ſtandard, and ſent meſſengers to the provinces of Arequipa, Los Charcas, and other places, to encourage a ſpirit of oppoſition to the new government. Upon this ſome who were friends to Almagro privately left thoſe places in order to join their friends at Lima, but were purſued and brought back.

In the mean while Holguin being informed that Almagro was marching at the head of 600 men, either to lay ſiege to Cuzco, or to give him battle, and being ſenſible, that he was too weak to oppoſe him, reſolved, if poſſible, to accompliſh a junction with Alverado, which he performed in the following manner. He ſent a party of horſe to ſurprize ſome of Almagro's people, two of whom he ordered to be hanged, and ſent back the reſt, with orders to tell their leader, that in a day or two he would pay him ſuch a viſit as would make him repent their meeting. Upon which Almagro halted to receive him, while he ſeized that opportunity of turning off into another road, by which he quickly came up with Alverado, and ſoon after joined Vaca de Caſtro, a new commiſſioner, who at this inſtant arrived from Spain, and was not only appointed to enquire into the diſputes ſubſiſting between the generals, but was authorized in caſe of the Marquis Pizarro's death, to aſſume the poſt of Governor of Peru. He had been driven into the bay of Gorgona by contrary winds, and reſolved to travel by land to Lima, when he was thus reinforced on the road, and by this means became 700 ſtrong.

Vaca de Caſtro was a man of good ſenſe, great knowledge, and uncorruptible integrity. He was bred to the law; but his ſteady abherence to juſtice, and his declining thoſe cauſes that had the ſlighteſt appearance of any illegality, prevented his

having the encouragement his virtue deſerved, by which means he was but little known. The Emperor who had received ſome covincing proofs of his virtue, preferred him to this poſt, without adviſing with any of his miniſters, ſaying, that he would try how probity would thrive in an Indian ſoil, ſince it was ſo little cheriſhed at a Spaniſh bar, and it is generally allowed that the Spaniſh dominions in America never had ſuch a governor, either before or ſince. Upon this expedition he ventered with little money, and but few followers; but after being thus ſeconded, his ſucceſs was ſurprizing.

De Caſtro gave Alverado and Holguin a very agreeable reception, and to prevent all diſputes ariſing from a diviſion of the chief authority between Pizarro and Almagro, aſſumed the title of Captain General, reſolving, though he had not been bred in the field, to act every where in perſon. Indeed it was impoſſible to behave with a more even conduct. De Caſtro uſed the ſtricteſt impartiality in deciding every cauſe that came under his inſpection, without paying the leaſt regard to the party's being a Spaniard or an Indian. In ſhort, he threatened no body, flattered no body, acted like a governor, but lived like a private perſon. The people were at firſt aſtoniſhed at his deportment; but in a few weeks he was obeyed with more ſubmiſſion than ever was exacted by a tyrant, merely becauſe they ſaw he meant nothing but their good. Balancazar left his government of Popayan to compliment him: moſt of thoſe places that were not overawed by Almagro readily ſubmitted to his authority; and Gonzalo Pizarro being returned from his expedition to the eaſtward, after his having ſuſtained very great hardſhips, and loſt near two thirds of his men, ſent a deputation to him from Quito, to inform him of his ſubmiſſion, and to offer to march with all the men he

could raiſe to his aſſiſtance; to which De Caſtro replied, that he accepted of his ſubmiſſion; but that the hardſhips he had endured in his late progreſs required ſome reſt, and therefore he would diſpenſe with his preſence, and he was at liberty to apply himſelf to the government of Quito.

In the mean time, young Almagro was making what head he could againſt the captain-general. He had great abilities, improved by a proper education, and was of an open, brave, and generous diſpoſition; but was raſh, and ſomewhat cruel; while his youth leſſened his influence, and drove him into many errors. The death of De Roda, who was his general, and a man of fidelity and experience, was a very great misfortune; and his afterwards dividing the poſt of general between Garcia de Alverado, and Chriſtopher de Sotalo, laid the foundation of his ruin: for the latter having condemned a ſoldier for theft was oppoſed by the former with ſuch warmth, as occaſioned a violent quarrel, and de Sotalo was killed on the ſpot. This aſſaſſination was highly reſented by Almagro, when Garcia fearing that he would ſeek an opportunity of being revenged, reſolved to be beforehand with him, by murdering him at an entertainment he pretended to provide for him. But Almagro coming to the knowledge of this cruel deſign, under the pretence of ſickneſs, ſtaid at home. Garcia, however, unwilling to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity, went to his palace, to perſuade him to come to the feaſt, when Almagro, ſeeming at laſt overcome by his perſuaſions, called for his cloak, which was a concerted ſignal for the appearance of ſix men, who lay in wait, and inſtantly ruſhed in, ſeized Garcia, and ſtabbed him in ſeveral places, Almagro himſelf drawing his ſword, and running him through the body. This being done, he appointed Balſa his general, and marched againſt the new governor.

De Caſtro had encamped about fifty leagues ſouth-weſt of Cuzco, where, being willing to ſpare the effuſion of human blood, he ſtrove to perſuade Almagro to lay down his arms; while the latter inſiſted upon enjoying his father's government, till it ſhould be diſpoſed of by the emperor. Several meſſages paſſed between them; but at length Almagro found that De Caſtro was endeavouring to ſeduce his people, and a Spaniard, diſguiſed like an Indian, was diſcovered in his camp, with letters to Pedro de Candia, Almagro's engineer, containing very advantageous offers, to induce him to render the artillery uſeleſs, in caſe the two armies ſhould come to an engagement; at which the young general was ſo incenſed, that he ordered the ſpy to be immediately hanged, and though he before ſeemed to be inclined to agree to terms of accommodation, he now refuſed to liſten to any farther propoſals, except De Caſtro would conſent to baniſh Alverado, Holguin, and many veterans, who compoſed the chief ſtrength of his army: therefore both parties loſing all hopes of coming to an agreement, marched forward in order to engage in the valley of Chapas.

De Caſtro's army was compoſed of 700 Spaniards, and many Indians; while Almagro's amounted to no more than 500 Spaniards; but he had the advantage of a riſing ground, where his artillery commanded the whole plain. Carvajal, De Caſtro's ſerjeant-major, endeavoured to avoid the effects of this diſpoſition, by approaching the enemy under cover of a little hill; but, on their loſing that ſhelter, they were laid open to the fire of the artillery; which did no manner of execution, on account of their being levelled too high. This being obſerved by Almagro, he flew in a rage to his engineer, and, giving him the name of traitor, ſtruck him through with a ſpear: he then inſtantly

alighted, and, throwing himſelf upon one of the cannon, brought it, with the weight of his body, to bear upon the enemy, when, ordering it to be fired, it ſwept down ſeventeen Spaniards.

Almagro now ſeemed to bid fair for obtaining a victory, when the heat of youth led him into a blunder that completed his deſtruction. De Caſtro boldly advancing, ſome of Almagro's people preſſed him to lead them forward to meet him, to which he immediately conſented, and inconſiderately got between the enemy and his own artillery, which rendered it intirely uſeleſs. This being obſerved by Suarez, his ſerjeant-major, he told him, that had he kept his poſt, De Caſtro would have been inevitably ruined; but as he had thrown away the advantage fortune had given him, he did not chuſe to ſhare in a defeat that roſe from his miſconduct, and immediately rode off, with ſeveral followers, to De Caſtro's army, and ſoon after the latter obtained a complete victory. In this battle, which was fought on the 16th of September, 1542, 500 Spaniards were ſlain, and the principal perſons in Almagro's army taken priſoners. Almagro, who had behaved with great reſolution and courage, eſcaped with only ſix horſemen, intending to have taken refuge in the mountains, till he could obtain a favourable opportunity of recovering his government; but taking Cuzco in his way, with a deſign of carrying off his treaſure, and ſuch of his effects as would have been moſt uſeful to him in his exile, the very men, whom Almagro had truſted with the government of the city, hearing he had loſt the battle, apprehended him, and delivered him up to De Caſtro, in order to make their peace with him; upon which the young Almagro, who was not above twenty years of age, was tried, condemned, and executed for high treaſon, in the ſame place, and much in the ſame manner, as his

father had been, and was afterwards privately buried in the ſame grave.

De Caſtro, upon this occaſion, was ſo inexorable, that he did not think the beheading of Almagro a ſufficient atonement for his rebellion and its conſequences; but cauſed moſt of his principal counſellors, and particularly thoſe who had been concerned in the aſſaſſination of the marquis Pizarro, to be tried and put to death; by which means he not only extinguiſhed the rebellion, but eradicated the very ſeeds of it.

CHAPTER IX.

De Caſtro's wiſe regulations after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion. He is ſuperſeded by Blaſco Nunez, who has the title of Viceroy, and puts De Caſtro under an arreſt; however, he is oppoſed by Gonzalo Pizarro, and impriſoned; but eſcaping, is at length killed in battle, and Gonzalo acknowledged governor of Peru.

PEACE being thus reſtored, De Caſtro diſbanded the beſt part of his troops, laid aſide all his ſeverity, and applied himſelf to the arts of peace. He eſtabliſhed courts of juſtice, in which cauſes were decided with great impartiality: he erected colleges and ſchools in all the cities and great towns; appointed many learned men to ſtudy the Peruvian language, and preach the doctrines of chriſtianity to the people: he cauſed the old colonies to be better ſettled, and new ones planted: took care to have the old mines improved, and ſuch as were daily diſcovered, to be wrought for the benefit of his maſter, and the lawful pro-

prietors; and, had the government continued in his hands, Peru would, in a little time, have been one of the beſt regulated kingdoms upon earth, and more profitable to the crown of Spain than all its other dominions. But the cabals of the miniſtry, who could draw no advantage from a man, whoſe conduct needed no defence, and was above either courting or bribing them, prevailed on the king to erect a kind of royal audience in Peru, and to give very great power to the commiſſioners of which it was compoſed, who, immediately on their arrival, made it their buſineſs to croſs the governor in every thing. This occaſioned freſh diſturbances, both among the Spaniards and Indians, and freſh complaints to the court of Spain, which were perhaps far from diſpleaſing the miniſters, becauſe, whenever they came, their intereſt was ſolicited by rich preſents. Theſe diſcontents occaſioned another perſon's being ſent, with the title of viceroy, to ſuperſede the governor, and enforce a body of laws made at Barcelona; which, though well intended, were by no means proper for Peru.

This new governor, whoſe name was Blaſco Nunez Vela, arrived at Lima in the year 1554, and, notwithſtanding the inhabitants unanimouſly propoſed to ſupport De Caſtro in his adminiſtration, and to petition the emperor for his continuance, he abſolutely refuſed to take advantage of their friendſhip, and ſubmitted to the authority of Nunez, who being jealous of his influence, ſoon found out a pretence for putting him under an arreſt, and proceeded in ſo arbitrary a manner, as to create himſelf many enemies, who encouraged Gonzalo Pizarro to raiſe troops againſt him, and promiſe to ſupport him in the poſt of procurator-general, with a power to inliſt men for his perſonal defence. Even the judges, ſent by the court of Spain, acknowledged his title, in oppoſition to

Nunez, and took ſuch meaſures, that, in the city of Cuzco, he was acknowledged governor of Peru.

Nunez behaved in ſo haughty and arbitrary a manner, that his forces daily deſerted to Pizarro; and, being extremely paſſionate, he ordered Suarez, one of his beſt friends, to be aſſaſſinated in his preſence, from the bare ſuſpicion that he deſigned to deſert; but he was ſoon after fully convinced of his fidelity. In a ſhort time this raſh viceroy was taken into cuſtody by the judges, who ſent him under a guard on board a ſhip, as the only method of preſerving him from the reſentment of the angry populace, and the revenge of Benito de Carvajal, brother to Suarez, who had ſerved under Gonzalo. However, Nunez was afterwards ſet at liberty, and, at his own deſire, was conducted to Truxillo by Alvarez, one of the judges.

In the mean while, Gonzalo Pizarro got himſelf generally acknowledged governor of Peru; but very prudently referred the adminiſtration of civil affairs to the judges, and ſolely applied himſelf to the improvement of his army, regulating affairs in ſuch a manner, that nobody appeared willing to diſpute his authority. He reſolved to ſend two of his party to Spain, to defend his proceedings, in the ſame ſhip with De Caſtro: but the latter fearing to be ill treated by theſe two envoys, prevailed on the crew to quit the harbour, and ſteer for Panama, before Pizarro's diſpatches were ready.

In the mean while Nunez and judge Alvarez arrived at Tumbez, where they publiſhed a manifeſto, with an account of the particulars of Pizarro's rebellion, deſiring the aſſiſtance of all loyal ſubjects againſt him. While Nunez was in theſe circumſtances, he diſcovered much greater abilities than he had before done in his proſperity; but his ill character frighted even Pizarro's enemies from joining him: he was therefore forced to retire on

the approach of Pizarro, who purſued him to the mountains of Quito, where he was frequently reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, as to be obliged to feed on horſe-fleſh. In this manner Nunez avoided him for above a year together, during which many inſtances of cruelty were committed on both ſides; but at length the two armies came to an engagement near Quito, on the 19th of January, 1546, when Nunez's party was entirely routed, and he himſelf, while fighting with great bravery, was knocked down, his head cut off, and ſet upon a pole. But this Pizarro reſented, and was no ſooner informed of it, than he ordered it to be taken down, and interred with the body. He affected to appear grieved at his death, and even went into mourning; but, notwithſtanding this affectation of ſorrow, he ſolely employed himſelf in amaſſing wealth, and, from thence forward, behaved rather like a ſovereign prince than a governor.

CHAPTER X.

Pedro de la Gaſca, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed virtue, is made governor of Peru, with the title of preſident, upon which Gonzalo Pizarro every where loſes ground; but at length defeats Centeno, one of De Gaſca's generals, and is afterwards ruined, by rejecting Carvajal's advice; for, being abandoned by his people, at the meeting of both armies, he ſurrenders himſelf priſoner, and is condemned and beheaded: after which, De Gaſca being perplexed about the diviſion of lands, returns to Spain.

CHARLES V. being uneaſy at hearing of theſe dangerous diviſions, now ſent Pedro de la Gaſca, with the title of preſident of the royal court of Peru, and all the power of a ſovereign prince;

ſo that he could make or repeal laws, and pardon or puniſh treaſon, in what manner he thought fit: and indeed, he had the ſame authority as the emperor would have had, had he himſelf come in perſon. Though a prieſt, and a brother of the inquiſition, he had an excellent character, and was diſtinguiſhed by his mildneſs, affability, penetration, and ſagacity; by the ſtricteſt honeſty, and the moſt intrepid courage. His commiſſion was dated at Vienna, in the beginning of the year 1546, and he arrived at Panama about the middle of July the ſame year, where his agreeable behaviour procured him many friends, among whom was Hinojoſa, Pizarro's admiral; but it was agreed, that his revolt ſhould be kept a profound ſecret, till it ſhould be known how Pizarro behaved to the meſſenger ſent to him by Gaſca, with a letter from the emperor, and another from himſelf.

Pizarro received this meſſenger in a very reſpectful manner, and ſubmitted to an aſſembly of his principal officers, the inſtructions he brought; in which a general amneſty was offered to all who would acknowledge the preſident's authority, with the promiſe of a proper proviſion to be made for Pizarro and his family, in conſideration of their ſervices. Carvajal warmly declared for accepting theſe terms, in which he was ſeconded by all moderate people: but ſeveral perſons of a reſtleſs diſpoſition, prevailed on Pizarro to ſend a ſhort defence of his conduct, and to deſire to be confirmed in the government of Peru, to which he alleged he had an undoubted right, as being heir to his brother, who had conquered the country.

About this time Pizarro was informed of the defection of Hinojoſa, and ſeveral other perſons on whom he placed the greateſt confidence; and that the two gentlemen he had ſent into Spain, with a defence of his conduct, had deſerted his intereſt.

Soon after, the city of Cuzco was ſurprized by ſtratagem. Centeno, an officer who had fought with great bravery under the viceroy Nunez, but, after his defeat, took refuge in the mountains, once more made his appearance, declared for Pedro de la Gaſca, and was joined by about thirty horſemen, with whom he reſolved to ſurprize that city, notwithſtanding its being garriſoned by 300 men, under the command of De Robles, a perſon ſtrongly attached to Pizarro. For this purpoſe, he ordered ſome Indians, as ſoon as it was dark, to drive ſome mules, and other beaſts of burden, with a great noiſe, and matches lighted at the pommel of each ſaddle, up a certain ſtreet. This alarming the garriſon, the ſoldiers marched out to the place where the confuſion was raiſed; while Centeno and his people entering the town on the oppoſite ſide, attacked them in the rear, and put them in ſuch diſorder, that they immediately fled, leaving him in poſſeſſion of the place; and De Robles himſelf, having taken refuge in a convent, was made priſoner. Thus was this action crowned with all the ſucceſs that could be deſired; when the late governor treating Centeno in an inſolent manner, the latter gave orders for his being beheaded.

By this time the preſident De Gaſca was arrived in the province of Quito, when he cauſed a general amneſty to be publiſhed, and a repeal of the laws which had been ſo diſagreeable to the people. His army was now increaſed by reinforcements from La Plata, Arequipa, and other places, and amounted to above 1000 men; and as the preſident's army was daily increaſing, he reſolved to march towards Lima, which had declared in his favour, a few days after Pizarro had marched from thence towards Arequipa. But the latter finding that things went every where againſt him, and that he was

but little above 400 ſtrong, though he had been joined by Acoſta with fifty horſe, he turned off to the ſouthward in order to eſtabliſh a colony on the eaſt ſide of the mountains of Potoſi, the ſilver mines of which were but juſt diſcovered; and in caſe that proved unſucceſsful, he intended to retreat farther ſouthward, and make a ſettlement in Chili. Centeno, however, blocked up his paſſage with an army of between 1000 and 1200 men; and Pizarro, after having tried in vain to bring him over to his ſide, reſolved, after conſulting with Acoſta, to force a paſſage through his camp, though his army did not amount to 500 men; for which purpoſe Acoſta made his attack in the night, but being diſcovered, was obliged to retire, though without loſs.

The next day both armies drew up in ſight of each other, when the courage and conduct of Carvajal ſupplied the place of numbers. He armed every man with two muſquets, for many who had deſerted left their arms behind them, and commanded his people not to move from the poſt in which he had fixed them, till the enemy were cloſe upon them; and his orders were ſo well obeyed, that, though Pizarro's cavalry were at firſt cloſely preſſed, Centeno was at laſt entirely routed; and after having in vain endeavoured to rally his men, was obliged to eſcape by private roads to Lima.

Pizarro, being now joined by many of the vanquiſhed, marched to take poſſeſſion of Cuzco. Mean while the preſident's army daily increaſed, he being joined by Centeno and ſeveral other good officers, among whom was Pedro de Valdivia. This laſt gentleman had been governor of Chili; but finding his force too ſmall to maintain himſelf in his poſt, had taken ſhipping at St. Jago for Lima, with a large quantity of treaſure, which he deſigned to diſpoſe of in raiſing recruits. But on his arrival

at Lima he joined the preſident, who received him in the moſt reſpectful manner. His coming was conſidered as a very valuable acquiſition; for he was one of the beſt ſoldiers in America, and his intrepidity and foreſight made him a proper match for Carvajal.

Gaſca being thus reinforced found himſelf at the head of 1500 men, and with this army determined to march in ſearch of Pizarro; who, being fluſhed with ſucceſs, raſhly reſolved to meet him, though the experienced Carjaval aſſured him, that it would be their entire ruin, and made it evident that the moſt judicious ſtep he could take, would be to diſtreſs the preſident's army, by retiring before him to the ſouthward, and carrying of all the proviſions. But Pizarro was deaf to all his arguments; and, though Carjaval offered to prevent the enemy from paſſing the river with only 200 foot and 50 horſe, his propoſal was ſlighted; and, after every opportunity of ſtraitning the preſident was diſregarded, both armies were drawn up on the ninth of April 1548. The victory was not long in diſpute; for Carvajal, who was diſguſted at Pizarro's perverſeneſs, had refuſed all command. Garcelaſſo de la Vega, father to the hiſtorian, went over to the preſident, and was followed by the whole right wing and ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe; at which Carvajal, who acted only as a private man, began to ſing aloud part of an old ballad, that ſeemed well adapted to the occaſion; while the remainder of the men ſeeing themſelves thus abandoned, threw down their arms and fled, when Pizarro being left with only a few officers, turned to Acoſta, and calmly ſaid, "Well, brother John, what are we to do?" "Why, die like Romans," he replied: "No," returned Pizarro, "let us rather fall like chriſti-"ans." They then moved towards Gaſca's army, where Pizarro ſurrendered himſelf to Pedro de Vil-

lavicentio, who, with great politeneſs, refuſed to take his ſword and dagger. Gonzalo behaved before Gaſca, who accuſed him of rebelling againſt the emperor, with great firmneſs, ſaying, "You "may recollect that this whole country was annexed to the throne of Spain by my brother's "valour. I too contributed to it; and did I, "who have been his aſſiſtant, and am the only "repreſentative of that brother, aſk any thing "unreaſonable, when I inſiſted upon being made "its governor? I dare not tax the emperor with "injuſtice, but I cannot help ſaying, that if he "ſaw my ſituation, and was allowed to do it with "impartial eyes, inſtead of treating me as a rebel, "he would give me a ſtill larger reward, than "that for which I have been forced to contend." Gaſca was diſpleaſed with this defence, and ordered him into the cuſtody of Centeno, by whom he was treated with the higheſt reſpect.

Gaſca ſoon after held a council of war, in which judges were appointed to try Pizarro and his followers; it being reſolved to determine their fate as ſpeedily as poſſible, leſt ſome change ſhould happen in their favour; and accordingly Pizarro, old Carvajal, Acoſta, and Guevara, were tried, convicted, and ſentenced to be hanged; and this ſentence was inſtantly executed upon all but Pizarro, who, in conſideration of the nobility of his brother, was beheaded the next day, in the 42d year of his age; after which, the houſes of Pizarro, both at Lima and Cuzco, were razed to the ground, and the places on which they ſtood ſown with ſalt. There was alſo erected a marble pillar on which his crimes were inſcribed, and his head with that of Carvajal, was ſet up in the market-place of Lima.

The preſident having made theſe ſacrifices, proclaimed a general pardon, and retired to Cuzco,

where he ſtaid for ſome time, and afterwards privately withdrew to Lima, whence he went to Panama, in order to embark for Spain, and it is ſaid carried with him near two millions for the emperor's uſe, and not a ducat for himſelf. But while he continued at Panama, he narrowly eſcaped loſing the treaſure he had amaſſed for the emperor, by an inſurrection, which he however happily ſuppreſſed. He then embarked at Nombre de Dios for Spain in the year 1550, and at his arrival, the emperor was ſo pleaſed with his conduct, that he gave him the biſhopric of Siguena, a city in Old Caſtile.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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